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The Social Studies

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As the Editor Sees It

This fall when the high schools of the nation opened their doors, some seven million young people entered. In all probability at least half of this number will, in the course of the next four years, receive a high school diploma testifying that they have successfully completed the required course of study, or words to that effect. They will then either go on to higher education or enter the economic lists as jobholders (leaving out of consideration any interlude of military duty). In either case they pass from the care and responsibility of the public school authorities to the jurisdiction of new supervisors who perforce regard them somewhat differently than we have done. The college authorities demand that they be young people sufficiently capable and well-trained to be able to master in four years the requirements of civil engineering, or chemistry, or some other field of knowledge. The employer expects that the high school graduate he hires will have acquired proficiency in ordinary communication, verbal and written, facility in simple figures, and the ability to learn new techniques rapidly.

Both the college and the employer expect, if they have not become too cynical, that the high school graduate will come to them thus prepared. But the college at least understands that not all high school graduates are equipped for college-level work, and accordingly any reputable institution will require a high school transcript and a principal's recommendation before admitting an applicant. The college then has the right to presume that good high school grades and a school's specific approval indicate the pupil's readiness to enter college. Experienced admissions officers soon learn to evaluate each school's product and judge the record accordingly.

The situation is quite different in the business field. Here the employer is often dealing with the less gifted products of the high school. In the old days, when all high school pupils took

essentially the same curriculum, the employer could reasonably assume a basic general educational attainment in anyone who displayed a high school diploma. Today he can make no such assumption, for modern educational philosophy teaches that it is the school's duty to try to keep a child in school for 12 years and then give him a diploma, even though the curriculum has to be radically modified to make this possible. The employer, therefore can no longer assume that the diploma represents in itself a certificate of educational mastery. The pupil may have "satisfactorily completed the required course of study," as certified in Old English script, but how can the employer know whether this course of study represents any real ability, knowledge or skills?

There appear to be three possible solutions to this problem, a problem, incidentally, which brings a good deal of public criticism on the high schools. One of course is to turn the clock back and keep our high schools open only to those able and willing to achieve a recognized standard of education, as is done in Western Europe. This solution can be rejected out of hand, as being contrary to the whole spirit of democracy and to the wishes of the people. A second solution would be to revise the meaning and use of the high school diploma, supplementing it with, or substituting for it, other types of certificates which would convey more information to the users of the high school product. The third solution would be to encourage employers generally to follow the collegiate practice of obtaining directly from the school specific information about individual applicants. Each of these latter solutions deserves serious consideration for which there is not space in the present discussion. They will, however, be the subject of further analysis in subsequent editorials. There is a serious public relations gap between the school and the business world which deserves attention and about which the school must take the initiative.

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OCTOBER, 1953

Roosevelt, De Gaulle and Our Vichy Policy

WILLIAM HUNTER SHANNON

Arundel Junior-Senior High School, Jessup, Maryland

Much has been written since the end of World War II about our Vichy Policy. As yet there is considerable discussion whether the recognition of that puppet regime by the United States actually accomplished and brought forth the results that its planners expected. Such problems, though, must be relegated to future historians.

Recognition of German-controlled Vichy, however, brought about a sharp and antagonistic conflict between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the leader of the Free French Movement, General Charles de Gaulle. The substance of this conflict was fully disclosed in a drama of deceit, scorn, obstinacy and hate. Out of the conflict, though, de Gaulle emerged as the hero while Roosevelt was forced to sulk quietly in the White House, swallowing his pride like a bitter pill.

For the two antagonists the drama began in June of 1940. The Germans had scored victory after victory in France and the French government had already expressed plans of drawing up an armistice. President Roosevelt in full sympathy with the French dilemma, yet hoping France would not capitulate, sent a telegram, a message of hope, to Premier Paul Reynaud which in the President's own words stated:

This is an expression of our support of and our faith in the ideals for which the Allied Governments are fighting. The American people have been profoundly impressed by the magnificent resistance of the French and British armies. I am impressed particularly by your declaration that France will fight on in behalf of democracy even though it means deliberate withdrawal even to the Atlantic and North Africa.¹

When General de Gaulle proceeded to carry out this plan of continuing from exile the war against Germany he became the symbol of deliverance for the French as well as their expression of "hope and faith in the ideals for which the Allied governments were fighting." Roosevelt, however, refuted the symbol. Instead of supporting de Gaulle he helped set up a U. S. Embassy in the court of Vichy and began to make overtures to the Nazi-controlled leader of that regime, Marshal Henri Petain. With some aid from the British, de Gaulle was left alone to work out the destiny of France.

Outside of French military circles General de Gaulle in June of 1940 was not widely known, Being a soldier his chief claim to fame prior to the fall of France had been a book entitled Vers l'armée de métier. This book was a plea for France to build a strong mechanized army supported by combat planes so that if she were threatened she could attack and carry the war home to the enemy. His opinions, contrary to the best thinking of the French High Command, almost brought about his dismissal. In Germany, where great strides had been taken in rearmament, admiration was expressed for de Gaulle's paper army by the Nazi General Guderian.3 What France refused Germany used to great advantage. In June of

Editor's Note: This is the first of two installments by Mr. Shannon.

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1940, when de Gaulle's command was resisting the rolling German divisions the General actually observed his own ideas put into effect and carried out by the enemy.⁴

When Roosevelt sent his telegram to Premier Reynaud, de Gaulle had made history in his gallant effort to prevent a German break through at Abbeville. Personally leading his small armored division he hurled the Germans back at several strategic points. His quick promotion from a field commander to Under Secretary of State for defense made him more determined to prevent capitulation. Despite his efforts the surrender occurred on June 22.

Recalling those tense moments in a speech that was delivered in London a year later, de Gaulle expressed his belief that on June 17, 1940, at Bordeaux the last French government had disappeared. A group of defeatists, traitors, crooked politicians and business men without honor seized power and while rushing at usurpation had brought about their own servitude. "An old man of 84 years, an empty and pitiful shell was placed on the throne of defeat in order to endorse the capitulation and betrayal of his people."

A few hours after the surrender, at a London airport, de Gaulle and his aide, not recognized or noticed by the crowd, hired a taxi, and directed the driver to take them to a second-rate hotel. De Gaulle, a soldier without an army and soon to be declared a traitor for desertion by Marshal Petain, made his way that evening to the British Broadcasting Corporation. There he delivered a message that announced the continuation of French resistance under his leadership.

France has lost a battle but France has not lost the war. A makeshift government may have capitulated giving way to panic, forgetting honor, delivering their country into slavery. Yet nothing is lost! Nothing is lost because this war is a world war. In the free universe, immense forces have not yet been brought into play. Some day these forces will crush the enemy. On that day France will be present at the victory. She will then regain her liberty and her greatness. That is why I ask all Frenchmen, wherever they may be, to unite with me in action, in sacrifice, in hope. Our country's in danger of death, Let us fight to save it.

When General de Gaulle arrived in London there were interned in England 13,600 French naval personnel at Aintree camp, 5,530 military personnel at Trentham Park and 1900 at Arrow Park. Prime Minister Winston Churchill gave these Frenchmen the choice of being expatriated to North Africa or serving under General de Gaulle. In addition to those who stayed, other small groups made their way across the Channel to join the Free French. One such group of fishermen and their families, upon arrival from Britanny, said that when they heard General de Gaulle was condemned to death on the Vichy controlled radio, they decided that if the Germans insulted him he was the very man for whom they were seeking.7

De Gaulle, in the dark hopeless days after the fall of France, established his headquarters at Carleton Gardens. He realized that he had little political experience. In a conversation with Admiral Stark U.S.N. several years later he revealed:

Nothing in his past experience qualified him to act as a political and military leader of the French in continuing the war against Germany after defeatist sentiments had led nearly all the French leaders to expect a quick German victory in 1940. [He found himself] surrounded by Frenchmen who happened to be available in London, whom he had not known and of whose trustworthiness he was not certain.8

The Frenchmen working with him were difficult, over-anxious and quarrelsome. It required strong resolution to handle such a group. De Gaulle had to develop the ability to utter a strong no. Because of his patriotic fervor and his zeal for continuing the fight he managed to win to himself the confidence of his followers. The French National Committee was formed and de Gaulle gained recognition as the "leader of all Free Frenchmen wherever they may be who rally to him in support of the Allied cause." De Gaulle's movement though was refused recognition by Britain as a government in exile.

The lack of political experience of de Gaulle was noticed by Prime Minister Churchill. The significance of the Free French to Churchill was that they could be utilized as an effective tool to rally other Frenchmen to the allied

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cause. 10 Thus at Dakar the Free French, armed and supplied by Britain, attempted an invasion of French West Africa. The invasion was unsuccessful. An agent of Vichy had informed that government of the planned attack. Through the Straits of Gibraltar two Vichy battleships passed unchallenged and proceeded south to defend Dakar. In the meantime delays and bad weather caused the belated appearance of the combined British and Free French Fleet.

When it did arrive the fortifications of Dakar were too strong to be taken. De Gaullist troops attempting to force a passage through the harbor were fired upon. The Vichy battleships opened fire on the Anglo-French task force, until finally the British gave up the operation. If de Gaulle had been able to carry through the invasion of Dakar his position would have been undisputed. His failure showed he had not yet won over completely the will and the assurance of the French.

It is not strange that after this Churchill began to dicker with Vichy through an undercover agent, a Monsieur Rougier. Churchill stated as his reason:

I wanted to promote a kind of collusive conspiracy in the Vichy government whereby certain members of that government perhaps with the consent of those who remain will levant to North Africa in order to make a better bargain to France from the North African shore and from a position of independence.¹²

There were other reasons too. Since the breaking of relations with Vichy because of Britain's destruction of the French Fleet in July of 1940, Britain feared that France would form a military alliance with Germany. If such were the case Britain's position at that time, already weak, would be doubly imperiled. Thousands of Frenchmen in France who were still loyal had started an underground movement. These men should be contacted. There was then a need for keeping Vichy neutral so that it might be used as a base for possible intelligence reports on movements of the German army.

At Vichy both the United States and Canada had ambassadors. The ambassador from Canada was a Monsieur Dupuy. Representing the United States was the Naval officer Admiral William D. Leahy, Churchill referred to the

two ambassadors as several windows open on the court of Vichy. Besides the two windows the Prime Minister had more intimate contacts with Vichy through the agent already mentioned, M. Rougier.

De Gaulle naturally resented being a subordinate of Britain but the Prime Minister of England was cautious and believed that for the present, de Gaulle's French National Committee and his troops would be better off under the directives of the British War Cabinet. He recognized the value of de Gaulle as a propagandist and expressed admiration for the French General's massive strength but in the meantime the secret window to Vichy remained open.¹⁵

De Gaulle was angered when he heard of the secret deals with Vichy. Wasn't the French National Committee the true government of France? Loyalty should be directed to him.

In July and August of 1940 de Gaulle had little active support from the main body of Frenchmen who were laying the foundation for an effective underground movement. The episode at Dakar was plain enough evidence to the British Prime Minister that de Gaulle was not ready to be launched as the true leader of France. De Gaulle must be built up by means of propaganda and the undercover work of the British intelligence to the point where he could be recognized. Churchill in this respect did not abandon him but backed him up and supported him wholeheartedly.

This was not true of Churchill's colleagues in the United States. No effort was made by President Roosevelt nor the Department of State to negotiate with de Gaulle. Although strong hints were submitted by the British Foreign Minister Sir Anthony Eden to accept the Free French as equal allies, 16 these hints were passed by unnoticed by President Roosevelt. At this time the British could not afford to dwell at great length upon the subject of the Free French nor did they try to direct American foreign policy toward de Gaulle. They were anxious to receive the complete support of American armed might and manpower for the future prosecution of the war in Europe, Africa and the Middle East, They came as beggars and beggars cannot be choosers. Temporarily de Gaulle was placed on the shelf.

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Since in the United States de Gaulle was an enigma, the Secretary of State and the President continued direct negotiations with Vichy. It was hoped by the Vichy proponents that the following guarantees might be fulfilled: 1) The French fleet would be prevented from falling into German hands; 2) France might be weaned away from the influence of Germany and brought back to the Allies; 3) If the second guarantee could not be attained then France must be persuaded and prevented from going beyond the terms of the armistice and coming under the full authority of the German Reich.¹⁷

Meanwhile through Chester Bullitt, former ambassador to Paris, Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, was given to understand that Marshal Petain was universally respected in France and was doing his best to bring order out of desperate chaos. Hull, considering the relations between the United States and Vichy, rationalized the position of his government by stating:

The fact that a government is a prisoner of war of another government does not justify such a prisoner in serving its conqueror in operations against its former ally.¹⁸

The methods the Secretary used in instituting his policy were: 1) To dispatch food and clothing to the people of unoccupied France so that the Germans might not use the widespread misery of the people as a lever to swing the Petain government into open collaboration; 2) To open up trade negotiations with the French North West African possessions and to use these negotiations as a means of bringing about an influx of military officers (disguised as civilians) into North Africa to prepare the groundwork of an invasion of this area.¹⁹

While the diplomatic relations were being made with Vichy, Hull denounced de Gaulle in condemnatory terms. He stated that he disapproved of the General's break with Vichy and that he would fight against it. De Gaulle in his opinion did not leave France voluntarily, he was forced out. The Secretary emphasized the latter statement by telling one of his funny stories of a Negro in Tennessee who boasted that he could ride any horse in the community. "He was given a prompt try-out. When he got

astride the horse the animal immediately reared up in the air in all directions. The rider was pitched across the fence into a newly plowed field. He promptly got up and as he clawed the dirt out of his eyes, ears and mouth, he said, 'Now you see, Gentmen, when I discover a hoss is going to throw me I jest git off.' "20

Hull also maintained that de Gaulle did not have the backing of the people of unoccupied France. In answer to this opinion, Robert E. Sherwood in Volume II of Roosevelt and Hopkins stated:

It was patently foolish to attempt to estimate what percentage of the French people were for or against de Gaulle at that time or any other time before liberation.²¹

In one full statement Hull indicated clearly that the United States would continue to treat with Vichy and that neither he nor the President intended to negotiate with de Gaulle.

Neither the President nor I see any benefit to be derived from recognizing de Gaulle. Such recognition would have meant the repudiation of our universal policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country. It would have meant a complete break with Vichy, the withdrawal of our diplomatic mission there and of our consular staffs in the cities of metropolitan France.²²

De Gaulle would have perhaps remained a minor incident in the history of World War II but a sudden act of temperament on his part was in effect to challenge the very basis of the relations between the United States and Vichy.

The people in the United States were first really introduced to General de Gaulle through an incident which made him over-night a popular hero but at the same time increased the bitterness of his relations with President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull. Off the coast of Newfoundland are two small fishing islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, both of which were under the command of Admiral Georges Robert, the Vichy governor of Martinique, some two thousand miles away.

These islands, though not suspected of being formidable fortresses, were nevertheless objects of great interest to both Canada and the United States. St. Pierre had a giant radio transmitter which might broadcast weather information and other data to German U boats

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and surface raiders. The islands were under close surveillance. A few weeks before the United States entered the war the Canadian government suggested the sending of troops to occupy St. Pierre. The United States agreed.²³

This suggestion angered General Charles de Gaulle. If any forces should take over these islands they should be Free French, De Gaulle requested permission of the English to proceed against these islands. The British Foreign Office cabled Washington of de Gaulle's plan. President Roosevelt answered the cablegram stating it was not favorable to him to have these islands taken over at the present time. The British Foreign Office responded that the President's view had been communicated to de Gaulle and that he was in agreement that the proposed action should not be undertaken. President Roosevelt had made an agreement with the Vichy representative in Martinique guaranteeing the status quo of all French possessions in the Western Hemisphere, Plans were being made however to gain control of the radio transmitter without resorting to force.

On December 18, 1941, de Gaulle sent the following order to the Free French Admiral Musilier:

We know that the Canadians intend to [destroy] the radio station at St. Pierre. Therefore I order you to carry out rallying of Miquelon Islands with means at your disposal and without saying anything to the foreigners. I assume complete responsibility for this operation which has become indispensable in order to keep for France her possessions.²⁴

The orders were carried out and the islands were taken without the firing of a shot. The incident made interesting and popular reading in the morning headlines. The American public responded to the Hollywood-like attack of Free French sailors and marines on the island. President Roosevelt however was angered at the impertinence of the French General and Secretary of State Cordell Hull began to rave.

So angered was the Secretary that he suggested going so far as to drive out the Free French by force. His tense statement read:

Our preliminary reports show that the action taken by the so-called Free French ships at St. Pierre—Miquelon was an arbi-

trary action contrary to the agreement of all parties concerned and certainly without prior knowledge and consent of the United States Government. This government has inquired of the Canadian government as to the steps that government is prepared to take to restore the status quo of these islands.²⁵

De Gaulle's act was not condemned by Britain. Unofficially they supported him, but to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State its effect was the same as if Nazi Storm Troopers had taken the islands instead of the Free French.

At first the President was somewhat amused by what he phrased a tempest in the teapot. When some of the newspapers began to openly criticize Cordell Hull for his aggressive attitude to the so-called Free French, President Roosevelt's sense of amusement changed to anger. He was afraid this little affair might have caused a rupture in his cabinet, a development he always feared.²⁶

This was the time of the Arcadia Conference (December 1941) when Roosevelt and Churchill at the White House were making plans for the further prosecution of the war. Naturally an incident of the type of St. Pierre and St. Miquelon upset the President. His irritation mounted to such a pitch²⁷ that (as was revealed in a conversation with Churchill) he even threatened to use the battleship *U.S.S. Arkansas* to drive the Free French out of Saint Pierre.

The most decisive document to be drawn up at the Arcadia Conference was the United Nations Declaration of December 25, 1941. This Declaration which pledged full military cooperation and material support for the prosecution of the war against the Axis was signed by representatives of all the Allied Nations save one. The Free French of General de Gaulle were not included. The exclusion of the Free French provoked an angry comment from the British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden. In a cablegram to Churchill Eden made a plea for the Free French stating that "they were in every sense our ally."28 It was his opinion that the United States government did not have the right to veto the participation of the Free French in the proposed declaration. There is little doubt that the St. Pierre-Miguelon inci-

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dent helped to mould Roosevelt's desire to disregard and eliminate the Free French. In the future Roosevelt continued to regard de Gaulle and the Free French as an isolated group identified with no particular cause. In Roosevelt's opinion de Gaulle's claim to sovereignty could not be justified on a sound basis. There might be added also that Roosevelt had formed a growing distaste for the French General which was to continue through the Allied invasion and occupation of North Africa until the liberation of France.

In 1941 and 1942 de Gaulle's Free French distinguished themselves in active service. Collaborating with the British, the Free French conquered the greater portion of French Equatorial Africa. In another part of the African theatre, Madagascar, after long resistance. finally surrendered to the British. The island was restored to the Free French. In many forays and battles in Asia Minor, Free French and British fought side by side.29

1 Robert E. Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins Vol. 1 (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1948), p. 177.

² Ioid.

³ Andre Riveloup, The Truth About De Gaulle (New York: Arco Publishing Company, 1943), pp. 5-6.

⁴ De Gaulle stated in his book, Vers Varmée de métier, "France, if attacked will be attacked by a thoroughly mechanized, well trained army which will strike while the iron is hot. France has to prepare for this attack by building a hore mechanized army made up of exceptions.

by building a huge mechanized army made up of experts enabling it to strike fast. An army of 100,000

men made up of a combination of tanks, armoured cars and aeroplanes.

⁵ Riveloup, Op. Cit. p. 23. ⁶ Henry Steel Commager, The Pocket History of the Second World War (New York: Pocket Books Inc., 7 David Thompson, Two Frenchmen, Pierre Laval and

Charles de Gaulle (London: The Cresset Press, 1951),

pp. 164-165.

8 Robert E. Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 600.

⁹ David Thompson, "France's Man of Destiny," The Listener Vol. XLV (September 21, 1951).

¹⁰ Winston S. Churchill, Their Finest Hour (Boston:

Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1949), pp. 473-494.

11 Ibid. 12 Ibid.

13 As yet the Frenchmen in the resistance movement

had not identified themselves with General de Gaulle.

14 Churchill, Op. Cit., pp. 508-509.

15 Churchill, Op. Cit., pp. 508-509.

16 This mention was made by Anthony Eden in a cablegram to Prime Minister Churchill when he was conferring with President Roosevelt at the White House, December 1941. A fuller explanation will be given in that portion of this paper dealing with St. Pierre-Miquelon episodes.

¹⁷ Ellen Hammer, "Hindsight on Vic Science Quarterly Vol. 51 (June, 1946). "Hindsight on Vichy," Political

18 Ibid. 19 Ibid.

20 Cordell Hull, The Memoirs of Cordell Hull Vol. II

²⁰ Cordell Hull, The Memoirs of Cordell Hull Vol. II (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 960. ²¹ Sherwood, Op. Cit., p. 36. ²² Cordell Hull, Memoirs of Cordell Hull (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 961. ²³ Robert E. Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. 48-61. ²⁴ Ibid., p. 50. ²⁵ Ibid., p. 52. ²⁶ Ibid.

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Election Campaigns As Educational Institutions

HAROLD H. PUNKE

Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama

The need for social understanding and insight by persons responsible for government has been recognized since the days of Moses. During most of recorded history responsibility for government has rested in the hands of a few-often with exploitation of the many. The development of insight necessary for intelligent government depends on wide observation of people and on a tendency to evaluate their behavior and careful efforts to predict likely outcomes of social situations. The founders of the United States recognized this point when they set up a government which granted more extensive participation to the common people than was usual among nations at the time. Washington, Jefferson, and other early American leaders emphasized the importance of popular education if the masses were to be intelligent in playing their role in government. Popular government and popular ignorance could not long march hand in hand, those leaders said.

Since Jefferson's time the agencies and instruments of popular education have greatly expanded. Through growing intricacy of human associations and multiplication of relationships between the individual and government, there has been substantial development in what is meant by such concepts as free speech and freedom of assembly. General literacy has accompanied the growth of public education, and literacy at an increasingly high level has been of major importance in expanding the concept "freedom of the press"-as now reflected in mass circulation of newspapers, books, and magazines. Technological developments in paper manufacture—as in typesetting and the other aspects of press operation—and managerial ability in connecting printed materials with consumers, have been great instruments of democratic progress in this country. As such instruments they have helped make bodies of data and interpretation available to literate people on an economical basis. Movies have in some degree helped extend knowledge, although their role has been more largely one of entertainment. Radio and television constitute our most recent instruments for wide dissemination of information—and propaganda and can likewise be significant instruments for extending to common people the social and intellectual democracy of participation.

It is fundamental in present-day American democracy that any candidate for public office, or other person seeking to enlist popular support, must reckon with our technical instruments for mass impression. Probably these instruments have never been available, on a basis of complete equality, to parties on all sides of any issue. However the large number of different kinds of instruments availableincluding modernization of the pre-literate instrument of personal travel and conversation -and the extent to which it has been possible to limit monopoly of the instruments of mass impression, have increasingly assured common people of something resembling a cross section of facts and opinions on important issues.

It is in the setting described that national elections in this country have great value as educational institutions. Each candidate, who is eager for the prestige and perhaps the emoluments of public office, usually presents

in detail his own virtues and those of his program as well as the shortcomings of the opponent and his program. Numerous and competent staffs are typically developed to carry on the process. In consequence much old information is revived for popular attention-and some new is added. "Newness" is always a matter of degree. During election years there are probably more individuals than at any other time using facts, propaganda, and emotion in an effort to educate or confuse the common people in regard to some candidate or issue. During this time too the people show greater anticipation, alertness, skepticism, and sense of responsibility for some kind of judgment than at other times. Thus the educator might say that there is a high degree of motivation among learners plus a large volume of learning material which is organized and presented in "easy lessons." The fact that most presentations include only part-truths offers opportunity for the stimulating experience of fitting together certain parts and discarding others.

The need of the learner for a capacity to evaluate should be apparent from foregoing comments. It has long been a function of schools to help develop this capacity. The more that schools do in this respect, and the more politically realistic the practice material which schools use in the process, the less confused will the individual be who subsequently as an adult undertakes the evaluations which intelligent voting demands. However the school can never do the whole job. This is partly because of time limitation, other responsibilities, and perhaps the level of social and intellectual maturity of learners. But it is largely because much of the job must be done on the spotwith the particular candidates, issues, and voter interests involved. Each of these three items varies considerably from the others in degree of change and flexibility, but it is seldom that any of them can be accurately predicted far in advance.

One aspect of political education that an observing voter should get from an active campaign is the way in which the process of compromise operates. This process may be observed, for example, in concessions at a nominating convention made by one wing of a party

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to avoid loss to the opponent of another wing of the party, or in a breakfast meeting of two leading contenders within a party such as Taft and Eisenhower. The whole process of "political jockeying" is largely one of compromise how to win the support of some groups without losing that of others,

Voters should recognize that the process of compromise before elections, regarding candidates and issues, is basically the same process as that which takes place in legislative chambers after elections. Very seldom does a legislative body enact a bill into law without modification or compromise on its original form, A major function of a judge in a lawsuit, especially in equity cases or in cases on such matters as domestic relations and juvenile delinquency, is to work out a compromise between contending parties. The United Nations organization is intended to perform the same function on an international basis. Instead of wholesale criticism of "politicians" for making compromises, the average citizen should be glad that compromising is practiced. In the absence of compromise there is likely to be combat-as Korea illustrates. The common man is usually better off when combat occurs seldom and is of short duration. Campaigns preceding national elections offer good opportunities for laymen to observe the role of compromise in democratic society, as well as to recognize the kinds of situations in which compromise is most feasible and the insight of candidates in sensing compromise possibilities and in timing proposals.

The major point for the common man to watch, during compromise or other political processes, is what is happening to his own personal interests-and whether prevailing circumstances would allow alternatives that are better for him. If the individual voter can see and evaluate his own interests in the perspective suggested, he will not be swayed by exaggerated promises or belittling criticisms. He will know too that the important thing is not how long a particular party remains in power, but what it has done for his well-being while in power-in comparison with what the opponent would likely have done, and with what the different parties may do in the future for his well-being. Political campaigns afford good opportunities for a citizen to develop the capacity to follow his own interests and welfare in the many ramifications through which opposing candidates may drag the formally stated issues.

Another important aspect of political education, which average citizens should get from party conventions, caucuses, and election campaigns at the national level, is the extent to which there are still techniques in this country for disfranchising large segments of the socially responsible population, and for denying them the opportunity to participate effectively in helping to choose public officials. The party convention makes it possible for a person to become a candidate for the Presidency or Vicepresidency of the United States who has never had his political soundness reviewed through an open primary in any state. The methods of selecting and seating convention delegates, the techniques of keeping delegates "in line" on the convention floor, and the phenomenon known as the caucus all currently reflect practices which mean that before the "campaign race" is started the voter is largely cheated out of sharing in the major aspect of helping to choose-cheated because he has little if any part in determining who the entrants will be. A nation-wide primary, open to as many entrants as may desire or be able to qualify, might greatly increase the worthwhile participation of the common voter.

There are other ways of disfranchising responsible citizens which are less subtle than those noted in the foregoing paragraph. Poll taxes, restrictions on absentee voting, and intimidations in going to the polls are among obvious illustrations. Holding elections on working days-with no general allowance of time off from work for voting-in contrast with holding elections on Sunday as is done in many countries, is also important. So too is the practically universal disfranchisement in this country of 18 year-old persons-who are old enough to be drafted into military service, to marry and rear families, and in other ways to assume responsibility for maintaining and protecting the country.

Patronage, "party machines," and related aspects of spoils politics offer unique opportunities for popular education during election years. If this area of control and maneuver is No. 6

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looked upon as the fringes of the political underworld, one should recognize that there is no clear demarcation between this area and the practice of compromise or other respectable aspects of the political upper world. Clearly a voter who is engaged in any practice which spoils politics suggests is attempting to foster his own personal interests through a maze of political ramifications-noted earlier. At this point methods become important—for the group as a whole, aside from immediate personal goals. However an examination of the nature of political ethics, or the interplay between uppor world and underworld, is too big a task for the present article. It might nevertheless be noted that extension of civil service usually improves the patronage situation. Greater public alertness and concern about such matters as campaign expenditures, law enforcement in vice and other spheres, and awarding of public contracts would probably improve some aspects of spoils politics.

An earlier paragraph noted the roles of press, radio, and television in disseminating information and opinion with the implication that the reader, listener, and viewer must learn to evaluate the data and opinions set forth. Election years offer a good opportunity for another type of popular education in the sphere indicated—the validity of the press as a reflector of public opinion and interest on the issues and candidates of the time, and the importance of the press as a shaper of public opinion. For example, when most of the press

consistently supports one candidate and forecasts his election, but the opposing candidate wins, there is an important object lesson for John Q. Public. In part the same applies to "Gallup Polls" and related gestures.

The foregoing paragraphs attempt to illustrate ways in which election campaigns can be important educational institutions in a country like the United States, as well as to suggest ways in which technology extends the possibility of such education, and the increasing burden which a complex industrial society places on the individual voter in trying to follow his own interests through the maze of campaign issues and personalities. It should be apparent that technological devices for disseminating facts, interpretations, and impressions of personality have great potential regarding the further growth of democracy for the common people. The newness of video now makes it seem especially potent in this respect. However each instrument of mass impression mentioned in this article can be used for propaganda and distortion, as well as for enlightenment. The lesson for a people to learn from this fact is that technology alone will never produce a free or democratic people. Much depends on the use made of the technology, and that use is an outgrowth of social philosophy. At present, as in the days before there was much technology, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. But in order to be vigilant in any intelligent sense, one must know more today than in the days before technology.

United Nations Membership: Admissions and Rejections

LESTER H. PHILLIPS

The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida

After seven years, the United Nations with 60 members remains considerably short of the ideal of universality. The Charter provides for "original" members, and then adds (in Article 4) that membership is "open to all other peaceloving states," on condition that they accept the obligations of the Charter and are willing and able to carry out those obligations. There

are 51 original member states, some by virtue of having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945, and some who, having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, also signed and ratified the Charter.

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The nine additional members have been admitted upon submission of applications which received favorable recommendation by the Security Council and approval by the General Assembly. Applications of 21 other nations have been received, but upon consideration have been rejected by the Security Council. These applications remain pending before the organization, and ways and means to overcome the barriers in the Security Council are being sought.

The nine "admitted" members. Admission was voted, without opposition, for four of the nine nations applying during 1946, the first year of the United Nations. These were Afghanistan, Iceland, Sweden, and Siam, the latter only after France had announced a satisfactory settlement of the boundary dispute between Siam and French Indo-China.

In 1947, two applicants, Yemen and Pakistan, were admitted with the only dissenting vote being that of Afghanistan (in the General Assembly) against Pakistan, reflecting a dispute over the Northwest Frontier region. The application of Burma received unanimous approval and that country was admitted in 1948.

The application of Israel was at first rejected by the Security Council, only five members being satisfied that immediate admission would facilitate settlement of the Palestine question. Three months later, in March, 1949, the Council voted a favorable recommendation, with only Egypt voting in the negative, and the United Kingdom abstaining. After bitter debate in the General Assembly, Israel was admitted to membership, receiving the required two-thirds vote but with 12 members opposing and nine others abstaining. The opposition, led by the Arab members, revolved around the problem of the refugees from Palestine, and the uncertain future status of Jerusalem.

The sixtieth member, Indonesia, was welcomed into the United Nations in September, 1950, with nearly unanimous approval. The representative of China explained that the "premature" recognition by Indonesia of the Peiping regime compelled the abstention of the Chinese delegation.

Rejections by the Security Council. The remaining 21 applicants have been barred from membership through failure to pass the first

hurdle — favorable recommendation by the Security Council. In respect to action by the Council, these nations fall into two groups:
(a) those failing to receive the minimum number of seven favorable votes, and (b) those rejected by reason of the veto. In the first group are seven nations, all of which are under Communist rule. The remaining 14 applicants (all non-Communist) have suffered rejection because the Soviet Union has chosen to bar them, despite the favorable votes of a majority, and in some cases indeed of all the other ten members, of the Security Council.

Some delegations have expressed the view that the veto is not applicable in this matter, but to date there has been no determination otherwise. The only modification in the voting procedure in the Security Council is that abstention of one of the permanent members does not operate as a veto.

Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania. These four Eastern European states, commonly considered to be among the "satellites" of the Soviet Union, have failed to convince the necessary majority of seven members of the Security Council that they fulfill the membership requirements. Each has been rejected three times. Albania, the first nation to submit an application, received five affirmative votes in 1946, but only three in 1947 and two in 1949. Bulgaria had only one supporter on its first two votes, but added two in the vote of 1949. Hungary started with only one favorable vote, jumped to five, and then dropped back to three. The record of Rumania is similar, showing successive affirmative votes of one, four, and three.

The opposition to Albania was led by Greece. whose spokesman asserted that Albania was responsible for border incidents, and was not fulfilling her treaty obligations nor cooperating with the United Nations teams sent to observe the border. The applications of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania were opposed, principally by the United States and the United Kingdom, on the ground that all three states had failed to show themselves either willing or able to fulfill the obligations of the Charter. It was alleged that this conclusion followed from the flouting by all three states of the human rights provisions of the recent peace treaties, and from their attitude towards the United Nations Commission on the Balkans.

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The Mongolian People's Republic, This application was sponsored by the Soviet Union, whose representative asserted that the government of this Republic (formerly Outer Mongolia) was democratic, and that it had substantially contributed to the Allied war effort. On first consideration, in 1946, six affirmative votes were recorded, the highest favorable vote ever given to a Communist applicant. This application was rejected twice more, in 1947 and 1949, receiving only three and two affirmative votes, respectively. The United States and the United Kingdom again led the opposition, pointing to the uncertainty as to whether this nation was in fact independent, and to the lack of information on the country and its international relations. China, originally supporting the application, reversed its position because of an alleged invasion of Sinkiang Province by Mongolian forces.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea. An application of this government (usually referred to by non-Communists as the North Korean Authorities) was placed before the Security Council by the Soviet Union early in 1949. Discussion ensued as to the "receivability" of such an application, in view of the fact that the government of the Republic of Korea was considered by the General Assembly to be the government of all of Korea. The motion of the representative of the Soviet Union to refer the application to the Council's committee on the admission of new members for consideration was defeated, only the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian S. S. R. voting in the affirmative.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This application on behalf of the Communist authorities of Indo-China was brought before the Security Council in September, 1952, by the Soviet Union, immediately after that government had vetoed the applications of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. As all the other members of the Council had supported France in its sponsorship of these three Associated States of the French Union, they now gave negative votes to this application. The representative of France observed that the authority whose application was being sponsored by the Soviet Union was nothing but a political faction, the Viet-Minh party. The representative

of China added that this group lacked the elementary bases of statehood,

The en bloc "hostages." Among the 14 non-Communist applicants are nine whom the Soviet Union has chosen to include in a proposal for en bloc, or simultaneous, admission. This would involve the agreement by the West to admit five selected Soviet-sponsored nations -Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Mongolian People's Republic, and Rumania-along with the designated nine Western-sponsored applicants, by which separate decisions on the qualifications of each applicant would be avoided. The non-Communist states selected for this offer are Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, and Libya. The Soviet Union delegation has presented objections to one or another of these applications from time to time, but will withdraw all objections to them if the proposal is accepted by the Council.

This en bloc proposal was first presented by Poland in 1947, based on the argument that all five nations with whom peace treaties had recently been concluded, i.e., Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Finland, and Italy, should be given "equal" treatment. The Soviet Union supported this contention, and added that it would consider the separate admission of Italy impossible. This position has been maintained consistently, with the addition of more applicants to the list so that it has been increased from five to 11, then to 13, and with the addition of Libya in 1952, to 14.

The United States had previously suggested favorable recommendation of all pending applications, as a means of resolving the stalemate in the Security Council. Its proposal was withdrawn, however, at the request of the Soviet Union delegation. The objections which the United States and others have presented concerning the Soviet-sponsored nations have not been overcome, and an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice in 1948 substantiated the non-Soviet members in their refusal to accept simultaneous admission, insisting instead upon separate consideration of each application.

For its part the Soviet Union has regularly used its veto privilege to block separate admission of the nine "hostage" states. While

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not one of these has ever received less than eight affirmative votes, each has been repeatedly rejected by reason of the Soviet veto. Italy, as the extreme example, has been so rejected upon five separate votes between 1947 and 1952. In the consideration of the application of Libya in September, 1952, the representative of Pakistan pleaded with the Soviet delegation to make an exception to their position, pointing out that Pakistan had recently supported the Soviet Union in the en bloc proposal, and that the Soviet Union had approved the separate admission of Indonesia in 1950. The Soviet Union representative responded by insisting that Indonesia was a matter of different circumstance, and making it emphatically clear that his government would continue to use the veto against all separate admissions until the en bloc proposal was approved.

The Republic of Korea. Inasmuch as this government was peculiarly a United Nations responsibility, its admission to membership would appear to be desirable. Its application was considered by the Security Council in April, 1949, at which time it was rejected by reason of a Soviet veto. The representative of the Soviet Union objected in the first place to any consideration of this application, alleging that the government of South Korea was imposed by force, under pressure of United States military occupation. He further alleged that United States policy was to transform Korea into a market for American monopolies and a strategic military base. In contrast, he asserted, the Korean People's Democratic Republic was truly representative of the Korean people. The Soviet Union was supported in this viewpoint only by the Ukrainian S. S. R.

Japan. Following the ratification of the Japanese peace treaty, the United States sponsored the admission of that nation to the United Nations. The application was considered in the Security Council in September, 1952, and received the favorable votes of all representatives except that of the Soviet Union, who voted in the negative and thereby caused it to be rejected. The Soviet Union delegation regarded the application of Japan as premature, suggesting that it be postponed until a number of changes should occur. Among these were that the Japanese people should be freed of

foreign occupation, Japan's sovereignty should be completely restored, and Japan should conclude peace treaties with the U. S. S. R. and the People's Republic of China.

Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, Also dealt with at the same September session were the applications of these three states of French Indo-China. The draft resolutions of approval were introduced by France, and all three were vetoed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet representative contended, in explaining his votes, that the applications were from puppet governments hastily set up in Indo-China, as a means of maintaining those people in a colonial status. On the other hand, he maintained, 90 per cent of the area of Vietnam was controlled by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which was the real government of the people, fighting for its independence against the French and American interventionists.

Conclusion. There is little doubt that all the non-Communist applicants would receive the required two-thirds majority vote for admission by decision of the General Assembly. In resolutions urging reconsideration of the rejected applications by the Security Council, the Assembly has in fact indicated in advance that it considers most of these states to be qualified under the Charter.

As the situation stood at the close of the September, 1952, discussions in the Security Council, there appeared little hope that the cold war stalemate could be resolved. One possibility would be for both sides to agree that the ideal of universality should be implemented, and to forego objecting to any application. This, however, is not a probable solution. The prevailing attitude of the members of the organization is that expressed in these words by the representative of China, in October, 1947:

"I favor the principle of universality so ably advocated here by the representative of Syria, but we can try only to approach universality. A mechanical and mathematical universality is not possible and was never intended by the authors of the Charter, as is evidenced by the fact that the Charter lays down conditions for admission to as well as conditions for expulsion from the United Nations."

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The Philosophy and Technique of the Senior Problems Course*

IONE HANSOME

Sanger Union High School, Sanger, California

The Senior Problems course in the high schools is a comparatively recent addition to the curriculum and offers fruitful possibilities for enriching the cultural life of both the individual student and the school community. Some of these possibilities will emerge, I hope, from this paper.

I invite your attention to a description of some aspects of the development of the course at Sanger.

May I preface my remarks by suggesting that a clear educational point of view, a resilient openmindedness, growth in knowledge, sympathetic understanding and dealing with human nature are among the qualities that will help a teacher to navigate this course. Also, the eliciting of interrelations between the various areas of human interest and needs will spark the questioning spirit so essential to democratic progress.

Two emphases in educational thinking helped to justify the inclusion and to give independent status to Senior Problems in the hierarchy of the curriculum. One was expressed in the phrase education of the whole man, the other in discovering and meeting the needs of the learners. Needs include the shortages—a concept which originated in adult education. Of shortages more presently.

Obviously human beings have some fundamental needs in common, but they also differ individually. Indeed, every class presents some differences, hence the importance of resource-fulness on the part of the teacher and flexibility of content and method in the educative process.

*Mrs. Hansome, chairman of the Social Studies Section of the 1952 Fresno County Teachers Institute, presented this paper to the Senior Problems teachers of the sixteen Fresno County high schools, which all teach the course. All but two schools required Senior Problems of all seniors during 1951-1952. One school did not report its status.

In the adjustment to life in a competitive economy the acquisition of skill for a career is a weighty demand. However, success in a career is also conditioned by public policy, by institutional arrangements and conditions of living and functioning, by cooperative attitudes and the development of a social personality. Education and training for a livelihood is necessary but not sufficient. We agree with Aristotle that rational beings also desire the good life, the wholesome life. In other words, man is not only a doer, he is also a learner, a thinker, a citizen, a lover, and an appreciator. In light of this point of view and program we endeavor to prepare the students for a life of wholeness in the community of mankind.

Senior Problems is not an easy course. It presupposes on the part of the teacher wide reading, social contact, rethinking of curricular content, objectivity, versatility, and compassionate understanding of human behavior. The teacher endeavors to fill the role of catalyst between the cultural heritage, the problems of living, and youth's search for a satisfying way of life. How to link the immediate with the remote challenges the teacher's perceptiveness. At this stage when the reality of extra-mural existence closes in on the seniors, one is impressed with the urgent immediacy of problems that vex the youthful minds, and, that the resolution of those personal problems conditions the path to learning the art of joining with others to improve the quality of living together cooperatively. It may be the last chance for the school to facilitate the supreme transcendence from an infantile pattern of selfcenteredness to an awareness of adulthood in the larger fellowship of humanity. To many students the senior year puts a zipper on their days of systematic schooling. Soon they will be on their own. Senior Problems is an educa-

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tional response to that insistent situation. In so far as the class becomes a focus of thoughtinfection and gives humanistic guidance to the energy of youth, the Senior Problems course can be a social compass.

This brings me to some specific aspects of the work at Sanger.

I mentioned the problem of shortages earlier. Teachers know very well that many pupils are passed along despite a retardation in the ability to understand the symbolic process. A deficiency in reading seriously handicaps one who must get along in a verbalistic situation. In a democratic movement, communication is of the essence

It is probably an understatement to say that one third of any given class are poor readers. Reading aloud together is preferred in most classes. "We get more from the printed page that way," they claim. Though this group approach is time consuming, the needs of the group before one requires such time if there is no provision for training in remedial reading. As a compensatory means, the teacher must be highly selective in the choice of materials for oral reading. Of course, the mass media of communication, radio, sound-movie, television, and slide-talks come in to help the auditory and optical-minded. Also, we have found the methods and devices in the adult education movement helpful to some senior classes. Graphic materials (plenty of them), demonstrations, activity programs, roundtable discussions, panels, outside speakers and group projects are effective supplements. No doubt teachers will agree generally that assembly time could be budgeted more equally as between the Rah-Rah group for physical culture and the studious group for humanistic culture.

There are many situations in modern life where the group approach is productive of direct and indirect or concomitant value. The enormous expansion of the frontiers of knowledge and the spread of the technological base necessitates cooperative research in some areas. Also, the social psychologists have found that students learn better in groups and that discussions characterized by enthusiastic interest make a deeper impression upon memory. In some universities, courses in the history of culture and civilization and orientation courses

are taught by a group of professors sitting as a sort of learned panel.

At Sanger we found that the group approach functioned fruitfully through the survey method. If we find a problem that is common to all the students, we organize a survey of the various aspects of the problem. First the seniors survey their own group. Then with this experience they undertake a survey of the whole school, using the activity or homeroom period in which to gather the data. This technique puts the seniors before the whole school in a serious project and helps noticeably to build prestige for learning. The school newspaper, the HI-LIGHTS, cooperates fully in publishing stories about such projects, Thus, too, the community is made aware of the school's activity.

In carrying out a survey, pupils also learn correct reporting of facts (which properly conceived is an exercise in moral integrity) and various forms of cultivated behavior. The latter is given additional emphasis when senior groups meet outside speakers and panel members, visiting students from neighboring schools, or members of our own faculty and administrative staff. The senior committee conducts the guests to the room, introduces them and serves them at a luncheon.

"What do you say upon meeting those guests in the office?" inquired a senior who had been assigned as chairman of the committee on visiting guests. This year being an election year we seized upon an opportunity to give more zest and meaning to our local and state government study. The seniors under the sponsorship of the social studies and orientation teachers with the help of underclassman also, conducted a mock Presidential election. The twenty-four propositions on the ballot were reviewed critically and with more avidity than is usual in a civics lesson,

A concluding word on discipline. We all know that responsible behavior comes from within, that is self-discipline. A liberal view of discipline has been well-stated recently by Professor L. Thomas Hopkins of Teachers College, Columbia University. He declares, "We must take fear out of education, remove all superimposed threats and controls which only force

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self into self. Let us have a permissive environment, an informal, releasing environment. Let us work with pupils in a climate of open atmosphere of learning."

In a measure, this is what we are trying to do in Sanger Senior Problems,

Clemens Metternich 1773 — 1859

VICTOR L. ALBJERG

Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana

The alchemy of reproduction is a mystery that baffles the geneticist and the anthropologist. Why and how the union of Mary and Tom Lincoln should have fused the sixteenth president of the United States; why and how George Washington Carver should have sprung from the marriage of Moses and Mary Carver, a pair of Missouri slaves; why and how Clemens Metternich should have issued from the union of his parents is an enigma that defies the sciences. His mother indeed had wit, charm, and beauty, but his father was a "prosy babbler, habitual liar, and a glittering spendthrift." In the mystery of birth these qualities were somehow transmuted so that "chatter was turned into conversation, pointless mendacity into diplomatic finesse, idle prodigality into expenditure well calculated to obtain value for money." These characteristics made Metternich the outstanding diplomat of his time. So significant was he that the period of his dominance, 1815-1848, bears his name. He was foreign minister of Austria for forty years, and its chancellor for twenty-seven. Kings and emperors sought his counsel, princes and primates vied for his favor, and serfs and savants gloried in his fame.

Though he became intimately identified with Austria he was not even born in that country, nor did he enter it until he was twenty-one. He was born in Coblentz on May 15, 1773. His father's domain embraced four square miles and yielded an income of 50,000 florins: hence when Clemens entered Strasbourg University in 1788 the classroom lacked for him the glamor of the salon. He was, however, exposed to the liberalism of the French Revolutionary ideas, for one of his instructors became a member of the Parisian revolutionary tribural and another became Bishop of Strasbourg. The

general tone of the University nevertheless was conservative, and the number of students of German lineage was equal to that of French ancestry. He remained there for less than two years; then the advance of the French Revolutionary armies caused him to transfer to the University of Mainz. Here he associated with the French emigrés and sympathized with their jeremiads. He observed the coronation of Leopold II in 1790, and made the acquaintance of Archduke Francis, who was to be Leopold's successor. He danced with an attractive young woman whom he was later to know as Queen Louise of Prussia; made love to Marie Constance de Caumont LaForde, attended lectures in history and diplomacy. Delightfully, effectively, and unknowingly he was preparing himself for the foreign office of the Habsburg Monarchy.

He entered upon his practical experience early. In 1794 he made a four months' trip to England, and observed the operation of its government. His first assignment came the same year when he was appointed minister plenipotentiary at The Hague. The following year he married Elenore von Kaunitz, granddaughter of Prince Kaunitz, the chief minister of Maria Theresa. This union, though devoid of affection on his part, endowed him with prestige and wealth, and Metternich did not overlook such considerations. Because of his influential family connection and of his inherent ability he was made Imperial Representative to Rastatt in 1796, where he served a three-year appointment. His chief duty here was to bring about a dissolution of the sovereign states of the Holy Roman Empire. For the next two years he dawdled in Vienna, and then in 1802 he was minister-plentipotentiary at Dresden, the capital of Saxony. This was a valuable assignment

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for it gave him an intimate insight into the Prussian and Russian diplomatic methods. From 1803 to 1806 he was the Austrian minister to Berlin, where he established influential friendships and acquired significant experience and information.

So well had he acquitted himself, so promising was he that his government, in 1806, when he was thirty-three made him ambassador to Paris, the most important capital in the world. He had qualifications which fitted him for this difficult assignment. He was strikingly handsome. He possessed a social ease which made his excursion to the Parisian salons as natural and graceful as the swans' movements in the capital's parks. His perfect French, engaging manner, and captivating smile endeared him to the women, his poise, suavity and competence aroused the admiration of the men. Such complete self-possession was his that if anyone kicked him in the rear he would not alter the expression of his face. Though he hated Napoleon and what he stood for, he conveyed no indication of his animosity to the object of his antipathy. He could smile without meaning it; he could lure without loving; he could expound without believing; he could lie without repenting. He could deceive others without fooling himself.

Furthermore he had a profound selfconfidence. This was evinced in 1818 on the occasion of his father's death. He then wrote his mother, "My poor father will at least carry away from this world the consolation that I never caused him a moment of distress."2 Upon another occasion he admitted, "All eyes, all expectations, are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be." "My mind," he contended, "has never entertained error." He would soliloquize, "Dear Lord, how right I am, and how wrong others are." A man of such infallibility deserved appropriate remembrance after his passing, and he planned for himself a grandiose tomb, which resembled the sepulchres of Egyptian kings. This self-appreciation fortified him in dealing with men like Napoleon. Talleyrand and Fouché. But while his conceit was in bad taste his appreciation of himself was not altogether erroneous, for he did possess a sensitive, acquisitive and highly intelligent mind. Without laborious exertion he incorporated the ideas of others. His was an intuitive character, a quality of inestimable value in dealing with actors on the stage of diplomacy.

Most of Metternich's diplomatic work involved opposition to revolutionary principles, and in combatting them he was fortified by an instinctive devotion to stability and order. He had been reared in an environment of opulence and privilege. Since he had never had to toil for his existence it was difficult for him to share the sympathies of those who were born into want, who were reared in poverty, and who died in destitution. In his home the maintenance of the status quo seemed as normal and correct as support of Republicanism in Vermont, and when he began his university career Professor Christopher Wilhelm Koch indoctrinated him with the thesis that that which is is good, and that which is good should be preserved. This ideology fitted into Metternich's emotional complex as naturally as beer and sausages into a Viennese menu.

His University instruction instilled another doctrine upon which he acted throughout his career-the equilibrium of power. The Reformation had shattered the unity of the Christian world, and had left it in various antipathetical units. Likewise the advent of nationalism had sundered political states into ethnographic organizations. Vogt taught, and Metternich believed, that these secular and religious fragments could live in peace, one with the other, only if they were suspended in an equilibrium of forces. No one state should be allowed to become so large that it could threaten the security and peace of another. An association of states, without any cementing organization, should assist and resist one another for the preservation of peace and mutual security. The equilibrium of power would also support his objective of order and stability.

Along came the French Revolution and challenged his philosophical doctrines. Ideologically Metternich never wavered. To him liberty, fraternity and equality constituted social and political perversion. He interpreted liberty as license, fraternity as fractiousness, and equality as absurdity. When the French revolutionary forces occupied Strasbourg, where he began his University career, and burned the City Hall he confessed that his "soul sank into affliction,"

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and that he developed an anti-revolutionary fixation which he preserved for the rest of his life. He maintained that revolution was "the disease which must be cured," the "volcano which must be extinguished," the "gangrene which must be burned out with the hot iron," "the hydra with jaws open to swallow the established order." In contrast to these social disorders Metternich was impressed as he witnessed the coronation of Leopold II, in 1790, and of Francis I in 1792 as Emperors of Austria. Here were symbolism, ritual, dignity and majesty of established procedure and order. In the Empire everything occurred according to precedent, formula, and rule, Everybody had his place, knew it and respected it. There was order and stability, and as Metternich witnessed the antics of Danton, Robespierre, and the pretensions and performances of Napoleon his aversion to the tri-color became all the more acute. He looked upon Napoleon as the dark angel, the personification of revolutionary disturbances, and simultaneously he viewed himself as the white angel commissioned to eradicate the malignant social growth.

Metternich did not want the ambassadorship to Paris, for despite his overweening selfconfidence, he was a little appalled at the immensity of his assignment. He represented a country which had three times been defeated by Napoleon, and he was expected to rescue or restore Austria's position in European affairs, an objective that could be accomplished only by the eventual reduction of Napoleon and France. Metternich's situation was like that of a dachshund trying to kill a Great Dane. He, however, assumed the more congenial role of the fox. Rather than attempting a direct assault upon Napoleon he resorted to intrigue, a policy by no means alien to his nature. Fouché, Napoleon's police chief, insisted that Metternich required intrigue as he did food. "He intrigues all of the time, in all places, in all manners, with all people. He's always in everybody's boots." And as an artist in intrigue he epitomized Habsburg graciousness at its best when he was in Napoleon's presence. Behind his back he connived against the one whose health he had just drunk.

Since Austria was in no condition to fight it must by all means preserve the peace; if war should break out among other countries, it should remain neutral. And all of the while he was trying to organize a coalition, exclusive of Austria, to overthrow Napoleon, Austria was to remain aloof until the final kill. Simultaneously he hoped to involve Napoleon in an adventure that would exhaust his resources. Spain was the answer, and Napoleon dispatched 200,000 troops across the Pyrenees, where they wore themselves out against guerrillas. Metternich assumed that he had scored a mortal blow against the Corsican, Under Metternich's urgings Francis I had strengthened his military forces. Metternich did not think that Napoleon had adequate reserves to prosecute a major campaign along the Danube. By 1809 Metternich believed that Austria, with the help of the Russians, could overpower a French army. Napoleon sensed the Viennese intentions, and remarked to his step-son, Eugene Beauharnais, "It appears that Austria wants war; if she wants it she shall have it." Within a month, on July 15-16, French troops at Wagram imposed a fourth defeat upon the Austrians.

It was really Metternich's defeat for he had encouraged the war, had pushed Austria into it against the opposition of Stadion, the foreign secretary, who had resigned in disgust. This should have discredited Metternich with the Emperor but Metternich's rationalization of the situation satisfied Francis I, who offered him the foreign office, which he directed for the ensuing forty years,

He had learned his lesson: "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em." The Habsburgs had won many an engagement via the altar, and Metternich decided to score another nuptial diplomatic success, this time along the aisles of the Notre Dame. Napoleon's dynastic hopes had been stymied in Josephine's sterility. Habsburg women were famous for their fecundity, and so Metternich sacrificed Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor Francis I; she became Empress of the French as the wife of Napoleon. For Austria's welfare Metternich negotiated in feminine collateral without any qualms of conscience, or without any conspiracy against his peace of mind.

He had given away the Emperor's daughter in order to salvage the Emperor's domain. He meant to appease Napoleon until he could destroy him as a threat to Europe. Though he

disapproved of Napoleon's usurpation in Portugal and Spain, his continental system for Europe, and his reorganization in Italy, Metternich bowed before the storm, biding his time and waiting for the unguarded moment when he would deliver the lethal blow. He resisted as long as he could Napoleon's solicitations of a formal military alliance in order to help him plug the holes in his continental system. In order to avert something worse, Metternich, in March 1814, finally negotiated a treaty with Napoleon providing for assistance in compelling Russia to abide by the continental system. Austria was to furnish 30,000 troops to march with Napoleon against Moscow in return for which Napoleon promised him Illyria in exchange for Galicia, and a guarantee of Turkish integrity so that Russia would be unable to take Moldavia and Wallachia. Metternich had to exhibit all the innocence of the dove and the guile of the snake in order to convince Alexander I of Russia that though his promise to Napoleon had the appearance of legal tender, it really was counterfeit. The Grand Army, including the Austrian contingent, assembled at Dresden and swirled eastward. All along the line of march Austrian assistance remained bogus, and their only genuine military effort was their retreat after Napoleon had been defeated.

Metternich still withheld his fire for though Napoleon had been seriously hurt, the Austrian had a profound respect for the last convulsive blow. Furthermore, Metternich did not have complete freedom of action because his Emperor was loath to humble his son-in-law. And what was more, Metternich did not wish to eliminate one foe in order to raise a greater threat, that of Russia, as a triumphant and arrogant winner. So instead of hurling Austrian troops against Napoleon, Metternich offered to mediate between him and the Prussians and Austrians. In the interview which followed between Napoleon and Metternich, the latter knew that he had the Corsican at bay. When Napoleon refused mediation Metternich experienced the ecstasy of his life when he pronounced Napoleon's doom: "Sire, you are lost." Austrian troops then, at Metternich's suggestion, joined Russian and Prussian forces, drove Napoleon to Paris and compelled him to abdicate.

In the negotiations following the surrender of Paris, in 1814, Metternich reached his zenith. Unlike Lloyd George or Clemenceau a hundred years later he did not indulge in vengeance toward the defeated. He did not beat the Parisian woods for war criminals. In agreement with the British delegate. Lord Castlereagh, he did not aim to bring back "trophies of victory, but to restore Europe to the paths of peace." At the conclusion of the conference which closed the war, France remained larger than it had been in 1789, after having kept Europe in turmoil for a quarter of a century. Uppermost in Metternich's mind was his desire to restore equilibrium among the European powers. He wanted no return engagement of a conquering power, and the best way to prevent renewed hostilities was to make it impossible before its inception. If all powers were of approximate equal strength, no one, he believed, would have the hardihood to invite a war which would impose defeat on the perpetrator. On that account the spoils were partitioned rather evenly among the victorious powers at the Congress of Vienna. When Russia and Prussia struck a secret deal whereby Russia would have run off with almost all of Poland, and Prussia would have snatched all of Saxony, Metternich saw his theory of equilibrium threatened. To prevent the plunder he organized a triple alliance of England, Austria and France, put armies into the field and contained the covetous countries. Each was compelled to reduce its ambitions, for Prussia secured only two-fifths of Saxony, and Russia got merely the Duchy of Warsaw. Alexander I of Russia groused: "Metternich wishes to handle me like an enemy. He is the one who keeps everything for Austria and a few others and grants nothing to the Russians." In speaking thus Alexander revealed that a distortion of the truth is not a Communist invention or monopoly. Metternich sacrificed in support of his theory of the equilibrium of powers, for he surrendered Austrian claims to Belgium and acquiesced in the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. But neither did he neglect Austrian claims, since in lieu of these losses he secured gains: Lombardy, Venetia and the Illyrian coast of the Adriatic, nder

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as well as the recovery of territory which had been severed from her by one power or another during the long struggle. But all of these acquisitions Metternich could claim were in harmony with his theory of equilibrium of power.

Metternich was interested in the welfare of all Europe because he was an eighteenth century universalist, and cosmopolite. His interests were bounded by no physical barriers. He was almost as much at home in Paris as in Vienna; he spoke the French language as fluently as the German, and he always wrote in French to his mother. French plays and novels constituted part of his literary diet as long as he lived. He loved to relax in Italy, and, somewhat like Disraeli, to wander among its antiquities, and to muse with its past. Its authors occupied a liberal section of his library. His chancellory was so crowded with objects of art from all over the world that it had the aspect of an international museum. He was more at home in the English classics than were most of the members of the House of Commons. Strong national antipathies were therefore alien to him. He neither liked nor abhorred people because of their origins. Friederich Gentz, almost his alter ego, was Jewish.

To maintain a stable Europe seemed as natural to him, therefore, as for his Emperor to brush his whiskers. It also coincided with the interests of the Habsburgs, "Austria could be maintained as a vital power only by keeping Europe in the grooves of the eighteenth century." And to keep it there the disruptive forces of the nineteenth century had to be throttled, and he commissioned himself to repress nationalism and liberalism, Order, stability, tradition became the watchwords of the "Era of Metternich," because he personally had faith in them, and also because Austria could survive only in an environment of serenity and repose. He himself admitted that he passed his life "propping up a worm-eaten building." Eventually Bismarck called it a "cadaver already in a state of putrefaction."

Nationalism, if left unchecked, was the malady which he believed would destroy Austria. He admitted that he had invoked nationalism to undo Napoleon. It could be equally effective against him and Austria—unless he strangled it before it reached puberty.

If Poles, Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, Serbs and all the other subject peoples of the Habsburgs, asserted their national sovereignty, it would be Austria *kaput*.

To guard against a unified Italy he purposely severed it into separate sovereignties, and accentuated, as far as he could, their peculiar eccentricities. Italy, he insisted, was merely "a geographical expression," and within that abstraction he perpetuated the Two Sicilies under the Bourbons. Metternich admitted that "The Papal Government does not know how to govern; it does not even know how to administer a spoilt city like Bologna."3 And yet he made it serve his purpose, for it blocked the North from the South, Lombardy and Venetia became virtually crown colonies of the Habsburgs, and throughout the rest of Italy he hoped to exercise a predominant influence, primarily to prevent a unification of all the Italian states into a single political entity. After the defeat of Napoleon Metternich had allowed Murat, husband of Napoleon's sister, Caroline, to continue as king of Naples. During Napoleon's "Hundred Days" Murat called for a unified Italy. "Providence at last calls you to freedom," he shouted. "One cry can be heard from the Alps to the gorges of Scylla, and that cry is: "The independence of Italy." In response to this Metternich exiled Murat. When someone proposed the Duke of Reichstadt, Napoleon's son by Marie Louise, as King of the Italies, Metternich killed him. When the Duke was nineteen years of age his doctor pronounced his lungs weak, and advised his transfer to a warmer climate. Contrary to this recommendation, the Duke was forced to continue to drill his regiment in the frigid winters of Austria. On the other hand when Metternich's children displayed symptoms of pulmonary weakness, he sent them to Paris. Finally the Duke was confined to his bed in 1832, and a few months later, in July, he passed away. This symbol of the Kingdom of Italy, created by Napoleon Bonaparte, joined his father's ashes. Metternich recognized that a threat to the stability, order and equilibrium in Italy had been eliminated.

With equal vigor and ruthlessness Metternich tried to choke off nationalism in the Germanies. As Mazzini and Manzoni had sung

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the lay of the land along the Appenines, so Jahn and Fichte had warbled the melody of Teutomania from the Rhine to the Memel. Metternich's reaction to them was a blend of contempt, horror and fear. He set about to contain them and their "heresy" in the German Confederation. It was a league of states in which Austria was first among equals. It was meant to divide, and not to unite. A unified German state, he feared, would fall under the control of Prussia. "Prussia's hopes were Austria's fears." He wanted a confederation dominated by himself, the "Dalai Lama" in Vienna. The resultant organization was lacking in executive power; it had no judicial jurisdiction and its legislature could not legislate. In the Confederate Diet contrary to the Confederate Statute, all intrigued against everyone else, and, as Bismarck later said, when two men happened to go simultaneously to the toilet all the rest smelled the aroma of conspiracy.

Not only in Italy and Germany did he negate nationalism. Under his direction Norway was assigned to Sweden, Belgium to Holland, Poland was continued under Austria, Prussia and Russia, while Austria and Turkey continued as museums of conflicting nationalities.

With skill and determination equal to that used in opposing nationalism, Metternich resisted liberalism. He believed profoundly in the conservative way of life. To him conservatism was a treasure house of generations of accumulated experience; it was the wisdom of ages which cautioned safety; it was the social and cultural cement which held society together. He saw the ultimate objective of government as maintaining stability and order, and this objective could best be realized by the observance of conservative principles under the administration of Emperor, Aristocracy and Church. To him they were the experts of social and individual needs; they could best diagnose the ills and prescribe the cures, and they would always do so within the limitations of the law -Metternich's law. In other words, he aimed to keep society essentially as it was, so arranged that the poor existed merely to serve the rich. He would have been in full agreement with the doggerel:

The rich man in his castle, The poor man at his gate, God made them great and lowly And ordered their estate.

Metternich did not want his conservatism questioned. He agreed with Nicholas that it was the duty of the subject to "submit and obey." And his repressive policy was tolerated because the people yearned passionately for repose. Nothing seemed more repulsive to them than a recurrent war.

There were, however, rumblings of dissatisfaction throughout Europe against the illiberalism of the post-Napoleonic establishment. Students, professors and poets, sizzling with intellectual and spiritual indignation, denounced Metternich and burned him in effigy. Such actions, however, did not deter him in his genteel ruthlessness, for he feared that when "France sneezes all Europe catches cold," and he did not want the virus spread. Anyone who questioned his established order he stigmatized as "Republican" or "Anarchist," terms then conveying the ultimate in civic disapprobation. as the word "Communist" had not yet come into common parlance. "Our enemy is anarchy; our friends those who repel it." And an anarchist was anyone who did not underwrite his reactionary system. He was in agreement with Goethe that "Democracy is ignorance with spurs on."

To him the majority was merely collective mediocrity, and the fusion of a thousand errors did not result in profundity. He did not appreciate the "extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people," and so, to prevent the common man from coming into his own, he, like his descendant, maintained "the standing army of soldiers, the sitting army of bureaucrats, the kneeling army of pietists, and the sneaking army of informers."4 This whole machinery of repression was thrown into action in 1819 after a theological student, Karl Sand, assassinated the Russian spy, Kotzebue. In response to it, Metternich on the assumption of the existence of an international revolutionary plot, convened delegates from nine of the principal German states who prepared the Carlsbad Decrees. These were ratified by the Frankford Diet, and thereby became applicable to all the German states. Their enforcement m

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placed intellectuals in mental straight-jackets. Francis I, in 1821, outlined to a group of professors the qualities which he admired in pedagogues: "Keep yourself to what is old, for it is good; if our ancestors have proved it to be good, why should we not do as they did? New ideas are now coming forward which I do not, nor ever will approve. Mistrust these ideas and keep to the positive. I have no need for learned men. I want faithful subjects. Be such; that is your duty. He who serves me must do as I command. He who cannot do this, or who comes full of new ideas, may go his way. If he does not, I shall send him."

Among the distinguished scholars who were "sent on their way" were Jahn, Görres, Borne, and Arndt. Spies were sent to listen to the sermons of Bishop Schleiermacher for "un-Metternichian" sentiments, and Stein was placed under police supervision. "The sovereign people," Francis I said, "are like mental defectives, who need a guardian." He censored newspapers and books; prevented the importation of foreign publications; forbade emigration; and restricted immigration. An iron curtain was hung around the Habsburg dominion.

The repression was not confined to the German Confederation. The victorious over Napoleon organized themselves into the Quadruple Alliance for the purpose of maintaining the peace, and their technique was suppression of liberal ideas, which they construed as revolutionary, anywhere in Europe. Outbursts, however, were inevitable, for repression transforms the liberal into the radical: as William II declared, "When just demands are not met, they turn to unjust demands." The discontented exemplified Trevelyan's theory that "If the current of public opinion is denied course through constitutional channels it will make its way through the sewers." Revolutions broke out in 1820 in Spain, the Papal States, Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia and Naples, whereupon Metternich summoned the powers for joint action in suppressing the disturbances and in restoring the autocrats to their arbitrary rule. The revolutions were put down mainly by Austrian troops which were likened to a fire department rushing from one conflagration to the next to extinguish the flames of revolt.

"With words," said Mephistopheles to Faust, "you can do everything," for "words are soldiers of the mind." It was these soldiers of the mind that Metternich was out to kill, for he realized that "nothing is so powerful as an idea whose hour has come." He hoped to exterminate the idea before it really took root. Though he experienced a temporary triumph in Spain and the Italian states, he must have recognized the truth of Herder's reflection, "Lock the spirit behind stone walls, it will still out." In 1827 it escaped from its confinement in Greece, and by that time Russia, France, and England refused to jump through Metternich's reactionary hoop. On the contrary, they came to the rescue of the Greek revolutionaries fighting the Turks. Three years later revolutions broke out in France, Belgium, Poland and the Italian states, and again Europe ignored the summons to smother the torch of freedom. Only in Italy and Poland were the revolutions suppressed, and there the Western States refused to intervene. Metternich's system of repression was losing its generative force.

While the Austrian foreign secretary was insistent upon order and stability, he recognized that national tranquillity could be maintained only by adjusting institutions in harmony with changing times. While he did not go so far as to endorse Macaulay's maxim, "Reform if you would preserve," he nevertheless suggested constitutional accommodations. In 1817 he proposed a parliament for Austria. Its members were to be the nominees of the Emperor, and delegates chosen on the same basis as those selected for the provincial bodies. The Parliament was to be consultative, rather than deliberative. Metternich submitted this proposal to Francis, who allowed it to stagnate for nine years when he finally acknowledged it. During that time Metternich did not reopen the subject. He also proposed the appointment of local officials from among the people whom they were to govern, and he wanted the administrators to consider themselves responsible to the people under their control. But again Francis, in Habsburg fashion, acted upon his own advice, "Let us sleep on it." In 1832 Metternich again took up the matter of a consultative council with his Emperor, who this time said he would "reign and change nothing."

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In 1847 at the dawn of the revolutions of the following year Metternich was finally able to induce the archdukes to attend a parliamentary assembly. This, however, was crisis-reform, concessions to escape a worse disaster. The scope of his remedies comprehended only the upper class. To assign pretensions of liberalism to him because he glimpsed the necessity for reform does not obscure the fact that he had a low regard for the common man.

Even during his final official years he still fought liberalism. In the forties he repressed it in Galicia to prevent contamination of Bohemia from whence the virus might infect Hungary which might spread the contagion to Italy. And in 1846 he cautioned the Pope not to grant any concessions to liberalism lest the serpents of democracy slither all over Italy and perhaps poison all Europe. In his memoirs he stated: "I have had the misfortune to belong to the revolutionary epoch. This age will pass like all other human follies. Fate has laid, in part upon me, the duty of restraining, as far as my powers will allow, a generation whose destiny seems to be that of losing itself upon the slopes which will surely lead to ruin." The "follies" of nationalism and liberalism were more powerful than his "restraint," and in 1848 they broke his dykes of containment, and with the rest of the reactionary wreckage swept him from his office and his country.

Despite or because of his ultra-conservatism he maintained his dignity within Austria. He was made a prince in 1813; in 1821 he was elevated to the chancellorship, a position which he retained until his exile in 1848. During his whole career after 1809 he conducted himself in a manner befitting his distinguished position in a country of pomp and ceremony. His travels resembled the processions of kings, his soirées the lavishness of emperors and his bearing the majesty of a Byzantine potentate. He loved official life. The glitter of diplomacy fascinated him, salon-life enchanted him, and the idolozation of the masses entranced him. The languid and luxurious ease, and the cultivated and refined association made life for him an enticing adventure.

No one can rob him of his mantle of great-

ness. His magnanimity toward France in 1814 originated in an intellect and a heart of noble proportions. General Blücher and his crowd of hate-mongers were as insistent upon revenge as were the vengeful nationalists in France or England in 1919. Not his genius, but his understanding told him that the greatest desideratum after 1815 was peace, and so long as he remained in office Europe remained tranquil.

Though Metternich was determined and remorseless in fighting liberalism he was the essence of consideration towards his friends. Even toward Napoleon, who was his political enemy, he entertained kindly sentiments. And toward Chateaubriand, who was his personal foe, he bore no grudges. When the latter asked for permission to settle in Venice, promptly and graciously Metternich granted his request. Baron von Stein had heaped abuse upon him. yet Metternich was fulsome in his praise of this adversary. Bitterness was as alien to him as was liberalism. He never indulged in vindictiveness or spite. His Emperor Francis observed, "He pardons all his enemies and retains nothing against them in his heart."

He was a charming host. A good table, a well-stocked cellar, and a home furnished in excellent taste from many lands provided the background for an enticing occasion. His extensive reading, wide acquaintance with distinguished people, and association with significant events supplied him with a reservoir for interesting conversation. Too frequently he exploited this advantage and monologued for a whole evening. In a steady deluge of talk he would stop for breath, and before resuming he would ask, "Where was I?" and continue his verbal avalanche.

Perhaps his greatest failing was that he perpetuated stability until it became stagnation. The cure was admirable up to the point when the prescription should have been withdrawn. Austria and Europe were ready for new ventures long before Metternich, old and frail, escaped to avert assassination. But he lacked "the poet's dreaming eyes, the prophet's distant vision" and the patriot's flaming cour-

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age to set the course of the ship of state upon foaming seas for distant destination. Statesmanship requires more than agile opportunism, pleasing cynicism, and a safety-first complex. His inertia, which he mistook for watchful waiting, was no solution for the complications of a continent in transition from feudalism to modern capitalism.

The Americanization of Italy

ETHEL S. BEER

New York, New York

"I'd like to run a restaurant over here, a super kind serving American food and drinks, and of course with a real jazz band for dancing. I'd have a cocktail lounge and a bar, perhaps even a cafeteria, or better still an automat. Gee I'll bet I'd make money! The Americans would flock to it, and the Italians, too. What do you think?" Dick's youthful face, framed by crew-cut hair looked at me eagerly.

We were in Venice—that dream city—and the moonlight played eerily on the buildings surrounding the spacious Piazza San Marco, dominated by the huge Byzantine church, In this romantic setting, Dick's mundane idea seemed almost sacrilegious to me.

"I'm not so sure. Italy seems too Americanised as it is."

"But the Italians love it," Dick retorted with assurance.

"Perhaps," I answered dubiously, "Certainly they like the much-needed dollars it brings. Only I don't think it helps make us popular."

Because American travellers are the unofficial representatives of their country, their behavior is important. Today they are antagonizing Italians by trying to impose their standards. Politeness is essential even in minor international matters. Already Italians have mixed feelings about Americans because of the recent war. Glad as many were to be liberated, the suffering caused by our army still rankles. When on top of this Americans abroad tactlessly proclaim their way of life as the only one worthwhile. Italians understandably

Because American tourists seek the familiar

in Italy they are disappointed very frequently. Coffee is a pet grievance. "I haven't had a decent cup of coffee since we landed in Naples," boomed Mr. Dean, a florid-faced business man taking his first trip to Italy with his plump over-dressed wife.

The lack of fancy plumbing is another complaint. "The hotels advertise private baths. But try to get one with a single room." Mr. Martin shrugged his broad shoulders. A basin with hot and cold running water-considered a luxury by Italians—is not enough for spoilt Americans.

"What does this country offer anyhow?" grouchily inquired some American soldiers on leave from Vienna. Apparently the charm of Italy does not compensate all Americans for the want of their accustomed comforts.

Naturally Italians do not relish being judged by an alien set of values. Besides, one assumption leads to another. Because Italians do not have modern conveniences Americans are prone to consider them backward in all respects -an unfair criticism. Few realize that beneath the cloak of old world culture they undertake outstanding ventures in social work.

"I never dreamed Italy was so progressive," Mrs. Boardman's faded blue eyes opened in amazement. I was telling her about the model Boys' Republic at Santa Marinella near Rome, probably as fine a place for homeless children as exists anywhere. But although she was well-informed and had travelled extensively in Italy before the war, this side had escaped her entirely.

Yet as early as 1922, before Mussolini's dictatorship, excellent welfare projects flour-

Algernon Cecil, Metternich, 1773-1859: A Study of His Period and His Personality, London, 1933, p. 12.
 Ibid., p. 159.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Bagger, Eugene Szekres, Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, New York, 1927, p. 207.

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ished. In the shadow of the Coliseum that summer I stumbled on a group of small boys and girls in charge of teachers and students, happily playing.

"Here we look after poor youngsters," the gentle supervisor explained, "But we also train young noblewomen in the care of children. Then they return to their own estates and teach the village mothers." It sounded like an efficient system.

Actually Italian history is full of pioneering. Centuries ago Leonardo da Vinci drew designs for airplanes somewhat similar to those that eventually flew. About the time of the American Revolution Beccaria advocated the abolishment of capital punishment and measures of prison reform, such as we strive for today. In the present era Mme. Montesorri influenced education far beyond Italian shores.

Under these circumstances Italians have every right to object to the superior airs of Americans towards them and their civilization. With justice, too, they feel that the majority gain a very distorted view of Italy. Rushing from sight to sight American tourists learn nothing about the people—the pulse of every nation. Rarely do they mingle with the inhabitants even superficially. And as a rule they glean their knowledge of the past from guides on the spot. Obviously they hardly graze the surface. Yet they dare to appraise Italy. Italians cannot fathom such presumption. Proud of their country they are puzzled by the perfunctory treatment Americans accord it.

"Like the wind, you Americans go. Here today, gone tomorrow," the white-haired proprietor of the hotel in Sorrento told us. His tone was sad but indulgent as he spoke of the bus-loads of tourists, who came daily from Naples and then hurried off after a few hours.

Perhaps Italians are even more aware of Americans since the recent war when their contact was so close. In some respects they were disillusioned. They expected a quick victory and blamed the Americans for losing opportunities.

"We were so happy when the Americans landed at Anzio," a Roman friend commented. "If only they had advanced right away much bloodshed could have been avoided. It wouldn't have taken many men either. But while your army waited the Germans marshalled their

crack regiments." She shook her handsome grey-haired head accusingly. Apparently she did not realize the desperate plight of our soldiers at the beach-heads.

A characteristic of Americans that confuses Italians is their inconsistency about money. One minute they spend it like water, the next are afraid of being cheated. They patronize the most expensive hotels and restaurants, but fuss about cover and service charges. Illogically, too, they insist on tipping anyhow. They bargain with cabbies instead of seeing that the meter is used. Then when they find out that the price was too high, they laugh off their own stupidity by saying, "Why worry? It amounts to so little." The same American, who must always travel first class, is just as likely to shop around for the best exchange for his dollars. No wonder Italians raise their evebrows and call us "pazzi Americani." crazy Americans.

Actually Italians must be very easy-going to harbor so small a grudge against Americans. Being treated as a poor relative is never pleasant, particularly for a nation recuperating from a devastating war. The American fighting forces were responsible for considerable damage, the scars of which remain today. While this destruction may have been essential from a military standpoint, the Italians did not always understand. The dreadful days of the war haunt them still. Against this background we heard story after story. By no means were all of these favorable to Americans.

"We always knew when the Americans were attacking," a lean lanky street boy on the outskirts of Rome remarked, pointing to the sky. "The English they flew over quick, dropping only a few bombs on special places. But the Americans went 'zoom, zoom, zoom,' and hit everywhere." He shut his eyes as though living it over, and a trace of bitterness crept into his voice. Yet there was nothing discourteous in his manner. When I repeated his tale in the United States, I was told that the difference probably was due to military operations. However, the Italians obviously were not enlightened on this score, nor on other deeds of the American army.

It was in Rome, too, that our charming hostess at tea gave us her impressions rather . ó

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diffidently. "We hoped all was over when the American men came ashore. But then there was that awful bombing. Your army must have been given a great deal of misinformation. Otherwise they wouldn't have killed so many innocent people. Why, one Sunday in Frascati a crowd was waiting for a tram when an American airplane appeared overhead. Afterwards the dead were strewn right and left—helpless women and children, who had been on a day's outing. My husband came along and saw them," she finished lamely, as though to verify her statement. To her this was especially distressing because she had so many American friends.

Ridiculous as it may sound, these accounts of war made Americans, who loved Italy, feel guilty. In fact some were far more belligerent in their attitude than the Italians.

"You'll be ashamed of the ravages in Florence," Mrs. Jones, an American artist, warned me before we went.

"But why?" I asked puzzled. "I thought the Germans were at fault, blowing up the bridges as they retreated."

"No indeed," Mrs. Jones responded vigorously, absentmindedly running her fingers through her straggly blond hair. "Our army did its share. I heard this directly from an Italian, who was on the spot. He said they were ruthless. I can't help thinking that they might have respected that lovely city more. Such a futile waste!"

I remembered her comments later when I passed the ruins near the Ponte Vecchio in Florence and gazed at the jagged ending of that picturesque row of houses on the bank of the Arno. But try as hard as I did, the few Florentines I met would not give me any of the gory details of the struggle. Only when I saw "Paisan" after my return to the United States was I able to reconstruct in my own mind the fierce fighting which had taken place. The reason for the dismemberment of this fair town is clear. Nevertheless it is hard to condone.

Even worse is the total levelling of Monte Cassino, which Mrs. Jones criticized severely, too. "Have you seen Monte Cassino?" she started.

I shook my head. We had avoided it on purpose.

"Well the thing that gets me mad about that," Mrs. Jones continued, "is that the Americans are doing so little about it. At least, they might donate generously so that modern methods of building could be used. As it is the monks are carrying stone after stone up on their backs. Literally they are reconstructing their Abbey step by step. After all, the American army helped destroy it. And some say that they did more than they had to. How senseless!" Her eyes flashed and her voice rose in anger.

Unquestionably the havoc in Italy stirs Americans emotionally. To be sure, some of the reports heard about the American soldiers may be inaccurate. Besides, many deeds were prompted by military expediency. The Italians were our enemies, albeit unwillingly. The Germans were their allies, even if hated. They were harbored in Italy and would not relinquish their hold. Thus a bloodless victory for the Americans was impossible. Besides the haunting fear of the Germans, who twice within our century over-ran so much of Europe and threatened the entire world, cannot be forgotten. Both Italians and Americans were sacrificed in the grim battle for freedom and democracy. The neat cemeteries of the American soldiers that dot the Italian landscape today are poignant reminders like the gutted buildings.

Despite these facts Americans have a duty to restore Italy, both physically and morally, because her civilization has given so much to humanity. The Marshall plan has started this task ably. The Italians appreciate this and consider it an act of friendship of the United States. But unless the manners of American tourists improve the good feelings may vanish. In their hands rests the future of Italian-American relationship to a large extent. The Americans can make or mar the situation by having delicacy or lacking it.

Americans should know that Italy cannot ape the United States because the resources are different. At times water is so scarce there that modern plumbing is practically useless.

"A bath won't do you much good," the manager of the hotel in Naples told me last summer. "The water is shut off from six in the evening until morning."

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Actually it is the individuality of countries that makes them interesting. Italy offers plenty to compensate for the few inconveniences. Probably nowhere else is there so much beauty, natural and man-made. The scenery ranges from the exquisite and dainty to the grandiose. Treasures abound in small towns as well as big cities. Perhaps because Italy was united only fairly recently, each place has a personality of its own. The past is important to understand the present. The variety of this bootshaped peninsula, jutting into the Mediterranean Sea, is infinite. If only Americans will leave their own world behind and come to Italy with an open mind, their enjoyment will bind the two nations closely.

In general Italians like Americans, as was evidenced by the warm welcome the troops received. Much to their surprise, although Fascism supposedly was strongly entrenched, it faded away abruptly. Even in Rome the civilian population lined the streets and shouted greetings. Sometimes the Italians were rewarded by food from the American supplies, or the much coveted cigarettes. And even today they ask the tourists for a smoke, while the children beg for "caremelli" meaning candy. As a rule the American soldiers are remembered affectionately.

"They were so kind. We could talk to them as friends. Not like the Germans, who were always so aloof," claimed Pia, a young girl in Rome, her large brown eyes lighting up with the recollection. Yet the family villa in Frascati had been bombed, and Pia had suffered emotionally.

Numerous Italians have relatives in the United States, which draws the countries nearer. Year after year members of the family on both sides of the water correspond. And although the second generation may not know a word of Italian, they will visit the home town of their parents. Besides, Italians have intense admiration for the opportunities offered in the United States. They seem to believe that every immigrant strikes the jack-pot, and never hear of the failures. All this adds up in favor of the Americans.

Nevertheless Italians cannot help being annoyed at the actions of American tourists. While one realizes the boost they give trade, it is hard to see strangers splurging when the inhabitants are so deprived. With their exchange Americans can buy the best. The amount they spend for a single meal has to go far in an Italian household. Doubtless it was mainly the extravagant travellers who felt the brunt of the Italian's ire. Therefore they were disgruntled and the difficulty increased. Certainly they had some justification. The expensive hotels were inclined to be commercial. The manners of the staff were cool, the prices were high. Stealing a leaf out of the Americans' book, they based the rate on the dollar. Such conditions worked towards the mutual dissatisfaction of both Italians and Americans. Frankly, though, Americans, modest in their demands and expenditures were little affected.

Americans abroad are ambassadors of goodwill. Their duty lies in being a credit to the United States. To settle international problems by peace rather than strife, there must be a link of sympathy between all peoples. Italians can only be modernized at their own pace. Americans will do more by wise and considerate treatment than by prodding Italy to follow their pattern of existence.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Murrell Dobbins Vocational-Technical School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Over the summer I read portions of a book called Unseen Harvests—A Treasury of Teaching. (Unseen Harvests, Edited by Claude M. Fuess and Emory S. Basford. New York: Macmillan 1947.) The volume is a compilation

of excerpts of the recorded school experiences, real and fictional, of some outstanding personalities of the past. Like most collections of writings, this one contains bits of nostalgic humor, pathos, and common sense. It is a book 6

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for leisure time reading, or for fill-in reading between chores. There is no central theme or philosophy but rather many views about school, teachers, students, and education, as seen through personal glimpses of the many persons represented in this volume. This issue of "The Teachers' Page" will concern itself with two of the contributors—one serious, the other humorous, but both stimulating in their implications regarding education today.

"Culture is activity of thought, and receptiveness to beauty and humane feeling. Scraps of information have nothing to do with it. A merely well-informed man is the most useless bore in God's earth. What we should aim at producing is men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction. . . . " (Excerpt from The Aim of Education and other Essays by Alfred North Whitehead, English mathematician and philosopher.)

Do our schools attempt, perhaps, to educate too extensively rather than intensively? Do our courses in Social Studies sometimes cover more ground than our students are able to assimilate?

In another section of this essay, the former professor of philosophy at Harvard writes:

"In training a child to activity of thought, above all things we must beware of what I call 'inert ideas'—that is to say, ideas that are merely received into the mind without being utilized, or tested, or thrown into fresh combination. . . .

"Let us now ask how in our system of education we are to guard against this mental dryrot . . . 'Do not teach too many subjects,' and again, 'what you teach, teach thoroughly.'"

How do the last two admonitions of Professor Whitehead apply to the teaching of Social Studies today? If we are to teach less subjects (as inevitably we must in terms of the ever expanding program of studies), what subjects or portions of subjects shall be discarded? In teaching American History in the senior high school, for example, shall the period of Exploration and Colonization be given the same emphasis and time allotment as when we teachers studied American History in high school? If not, what portions of American History should be deleted? Who is to be the final authority for deciding what portions of world history, economics, sociology, and polit-

ical science shall or shall not be taught in the classroom? Should it be the individual teacher? The principal? All the social studies teachers of the school? The board of education?

The second admonition, "Teach thoroughly" relates to method. This is no less controversial an issue. The difficulty, here, is that we have not really evolved effective means of evaluating the end product: effective citizenship. We are only slowly coming around to recognize that tests that measure how much knowledge a student has amassed or failed to amass do not necessarily measure the student's ultimate effectiveness as a citizen. At the same time, unfortunately, we have not yet been able to devise adequate tests that will measure such things as attitude, patterns of thinking, appreciation, and disposition to act.

Clarence Darrow, the great criminal lawyer, and renowned for his part in the famous "Monkey Trial" is the second writer that we will discuss in this issue. His school day memories make delightful reading. There is a chuckle and a barb in every recollection he records as, for example, in the following

passage:

"Most of us boys could learn arithmetic fairly well,-in this, indeed, we always beat the girls . . . I remember that I mastered the multiplication table up to twelve times twelve backwards and forwards and every other way, at a very early age, and I fancy that this knowledge has clung to me through life; but I cannot forget the many weary hours I spent trying to learn the tables of weights and measures, and how much vexation of spirit I endured before my task was done . . . This was many, many years ago; since that time I have found my place in the world of active life, but I cannot now remember that even once I have had occasion to know or care about the difference between 'Troy weight' and 'Apothecaries weight' . . . and one day, last week I think it was, for the first time in these endless years I wished to know how many square rods to an acre and I tried to call back the table that I learned so long ago at school, but as to this my mind was an utter blank, and all that I could do was to see the little girl with the golden locks sitting at her desk-and, by the way, I wonder where she is today. But I took a diction-

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ary from the shelf, and there I found it plain and straight, and I made no effort to keep it in my mind, knowing that if perchance in the uncertain years that may be yet to come I may need to know again, I shall find it there safe and sound."

How many irrelevant and useless facts have we all been forced to commit to memory during our own school days? What is more important, how many useless facts do we, unwittingly or knowingly, force on students to memorize today?

Continuing in the same essay, Clarence-Darrow writes:

"And then the geography! How hard they tried to make us learn this book, and how many recesses were denied us because we were not sure just what river in Siberia was the longest! Of course, we knew nothing about Siberia, or whether the river ran water or blood, but we were forced to know which was the largest and just how long it was. And so all over the great round world we traveled, to find cities, towns, rivers, mountain ranges, peninsulas, oceans, and bays, How important it all was! . . . I can recall today how one of those old tunes began . . . 'State of Maine Augusta, is on the Kennebec River' . . . Well, many, many years have passed away since then, and I have wondered far and wide from my old-time country home. There are few places in the United States that I have not seen, in my quest for activity and change. I have even stood on some of the highest peaks of the Alps, and looked down upon its quiet valleys and its lonely lakes, but I have never yet been to Augusta on the Kennebec River in the State of Maine... So too, I have never been to Siberia... And in fact, wherever I have wondered on the earth I had to learn my geography all over again."

How much of what we teach in our schools still fall into this same classification in terms of immediate or ultimate usefulness to the students. How much of what we teach in Social Studies is of value in terms of personal development, and social or civic usefulness?

How much of what we teach can fall into the same category as "Which is the longest river in Siberia?"

In the Social Studies program, more than in any other phase of teaching, our objectives must be more than imparting facts. In his review of Barrows Dunham's book Giant In Chains—(The New York Times Book Review, July 12, 1953), T. V. Smith cites Dunham's three objectives which man must attain in order to deliver himself from chains. These are:

- (1) "Accept the idea of change as his chance of betterment."
- (2) "Increase and prize knowledge of man and nature."
- (3) "Convert knowledge into wisdom for practical guidance."

To what extent can we, as social studies teachers, help our students attain these three objectives, and in particular, "Convert knowledge into wisdom for practical guidance."

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mt. Vernon, New York

The National Wild-life Federation, known for their books, have 12-slide sets on American birds, animals, and flowers, from the original paintings by America's foremost nature artists. Write to The National Wild-life Federation, 3308 14 St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

FILMS

People of Mexico. 11 minutes. Sale or Rent. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Ill.

Emphasis on habits and customs in rural areas, origins, history, and present status of the Mexican people.

Adobe Village, 20 minutes. Sale or Rent. United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York 29, N. Y.

Shows the maize culture of a village on the central plateau of Mexico.

This Is Ecuador. 20 minutes. Sale. United World Films.

Gives an analysis of the country's resources; shows the modern city of Guayaquil in contrast to the Ecuador of old.

Down Where The North Begins. 22 minutes. Sale. United World Films.

Depicts mountains, tropic jungles, cities, farms and Indians of Ecuador.

Montevideo Family. 16 minutes, Sale, United World Films,

Reveals a day in the life of a middle class family.

Uruguay, 20 minutes, Sale, United World Films,

Emphasis on the agriculture, economic wellbeing and the life of the Uruguayan people.

Young Uruguay. 17 minutes. Sale. United World Films.

Seen are young people at home, play, and school.

All Americans, 2 reels, Rental, Audio Film Center, 38 W. 32 St., New York, N. Y.

An overall view of South and Central America covering the phases of development in economic, educational, social, and artistic fields. Amazon Awakens. 4 reels. Rental. Audio Film Center.

Tells the industrial progress, richness of natural resources, and possibilities for the future.

Atacama Desert, 2 reels, Rental, Audio Film Center.

Depicts life and industry in the hot, dry Atacama Desert of North Chile.

Brazil, 1 reel. Rental. Audio Film Center.

We tour by boat and train various towns and cities of this beautiful country.

Coffee Democracy. 1 reel, Rental, Audio Film Center.

Costa Rica with its main crop of coffee and bananas is seen.

The Bridge. 3 reels. Rental. Audio Film Center.

Stresses the idea that air travel and transportation will play a big part in bringing us closer to South America.

Good Neighbor Family. 2 reels, Rental. Audio Film Center.

Shows typical family life of the various types and classes in Latin-America.

Hill Towns in Guatemala, 1 reel. Rental. Audio Film Center.

Scenes are shown of Indian villages along Lake Atitlan.

Housing in Chile, 1 reel, Rental, Audio Film Center.

Reveals the progressive steps taken by Chile in housing.

Our Neighbors Down The Road. 4 reels. Rental.

Audio Film Center.

Tells of a visit to nine South American countries covering 13,000 miles.

tries covering 13,000 miles.

Paraguay. 2 reels. Rental. Audio Film Center.

Story of the people, customs, and industries of hardy Paraguay.

Schools To The South, 2 reels, Rental, Audio Film Center,

Gives an accurate picture of the educational systems now operating in the other American republics.

Venezuela Moves Ahead. 4 reels. Rental. Audio Film Center.

A colorful analysis of Venezuela from an economic, historical, and geographic viewpoint. Wealth of the Andies. 2 reels. Rental. Audio Film Center.

Trips to the mines of Peru are realistically depicted.

FILMSTRIPS

Uruguay. 39 frames. Sale. Society for Visual Education, 1345 W. Diversey Pkwy, Chicago 14. Ill.

Shows the people, occupations, government, schools and living conditions of Uruguay.

Uruguay. 40 frames. Sale. Stillfilm, Inc., 171 So. Robles, Pasadena 5, Cal.

Includes new maps, Fray Bentos, Montevideo, Indians, cowboys, meat and mutton. Ecuador. 50 frames. Stillfilm, Inc. Sale.

Shows people, their industries, new maps, and living conditions.

Land of Mexico. 70 frames. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., Wilmette, Ill. Sale.

Seen are the geographic and economic aspects of modern Mexico.

Mexico, 43 frames. Sale. Informative Classroom Pictures Publ. Co., 40 Ionia Ave., N.W., Grand Rapids 2, Mich.

The customs, culture, clothing, food, occupations, natural resources and climate are depicted.

Our South American Neighbors. Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

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industry, agriculture, and customs of six representative South American countries, all skillfully presented in 5 good strips of obvious educational significance. Each strip contains 60 frames: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela, Chile.

Our North American Neighbors, Sale, Encyclopaedia Brit. Films.

Youngsters gain an insight into our continent with these 8 strips. Each explains the geography and economy of the regions along with cultural background material. Each has 60 frames: Land of Mexico, Alaska, Pacific Canada, Central America, Industrial Provinces of Canada, Prairie Provinces of Canada, Maritime Provinces of Canada, West Indies.

Bolivia. 56 frames. Sale. Pictorial Events, 597 5 Ave., New York. N. Y.

Unfolds the life of our Latin-American neighbors in such scenes as their methods of washing clothes; making balsa boats, etc. *Panama*, 57 frames. Sale, Pictorial Events,

Tells of the life of the people, their work, their home life, and occupations.

Brazil. 3 reels. 294 frames. Sale, Pictorial Events.

Seen are their industries, home life, transportation, growing of coffee, mining, agriculture, social life, religious life, and education.

Peru, 81 frames, Sale, Pictorial Events.

Shows the ruins of the Inca fortress, typical Indians, their mode of dress, market activities, natives robed for fiestas, etc.

Mexico. 55 frames. Sale. Pictorial Events.

The gateway to Latin-America is shown in brilliant colors, the floating gardens, the market places, goat herding, pottery, the picturesque costumes—a beautiful filmstrip.

Story of Chile. 114 frames, Sale. Pictorial Events.

Shows the loading of alfalfa at Los Andes, boys harvesting grapes, loading of wheat, fishermen at work, native costumes, homes, and display of native craft.

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Apologia for Aaron Burr

Descendants of Aaron Burr have maintained that their ancestor was cruelly maligned by hostile historical accounts. One of Aaron Burr's progeny, Dr. Samuel Engle Burr, Jr., Chairman of the Department of Education in the College of Arts and Sciences of the American University, Washington, D. C. publicly records his protest in a monograph, "In Defense of Colonel Aaron Burr With Special Reference to the Influence of the City of Richmond and the Commonwealth of Virginia in His Career."

Aaron Burr, descended from a number of famous clergymen, became an orphan at the age of two years and was brought up by an uncle. He graduated from Princeton, and started the study of theology but changed to that of the law.

He held public office in New York, eventually becoming United States Senator from that State.

According to his descendant, Dr. Burr,

Aaron Burr's part in the important election of 1800 should have brought him the recognition and the major credit for turning that election into a Democratic-Republican victory and it should have been a great step forward for him in national politics. Instead it paved the way for his political ruin.

Dr. Burr contends that if his ancestor had been an unprincipled opportunist—as his enemies charged—he could have acted in a positive way to deprive Mr. Jefferson of the Presidency. As evidence of this, Dr. Burr cites the testimony of Congressman Bayard of Delaware that the means of Aaron Burr's election to the Presidency were available to him, if he had cared to use them. Dr. Burr states that others have corroborated this testimony but fails to mention their identity. Had he presented their statements, these might possibly have strengthened his case. Their omission is to be regretted.

In recounting the events of Aaron Burr's trial in Richmond, Dr. Burr states that

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although it is natural for posterity to evaluate Colonel Burr's behavior, it is necessary to remember that the Burr documents which have been lost never can be recovered.

"Some ten of twelve boxes of the Colonel's records went down with The Patriot, the vessel in which Theodosia set sail from Georgetown, South Carolina, at the end of December, 1812. Matthew Davis burned an undisclosed quantity of Burr documents, immediately after the Colonel's death, in 1836. And the Journal, containing the account of his travels in Europe, was purposely written in a manner to confound and confuse any unfriendly agents who might spy upon his writings. It was to have been rewritten and interpreted for Theodosia, upon his return to the United States, but when she was lost, the incentive for such a task was lost, also. In consequence, much that has been said or written about Colonel Burr since his death has been based almost entirely upon records that were kept by persons who opposed him while he lived and by others who kept this opposition alive, after his death."

Dr. Burr enumerates the many tragedies suffered by Aaron Burr and compares him to Job for fortitude in the face of affliction. That he suffered greatly, there can be no doubt. That he was able and ambitious is not a matter of controversy. But that Aaron Burr deserves the affection of the American people and that his name ought to be on an equal basis with the Founding Fathers would seem to require the presentation of more tangible evidence.

Women in the Labor Movement

"Women Fight for a Better Life" is the title of a pictorial narrative of women in American industry since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. It is published by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (11 East 51st Street, New York 22, N. Y.).

The purpose of this pamphlet is to aid in advancing the conditions of women workers. One of the stated aims of this union is to obtain opportunities on all jobs, particularly for Negro women—a very laudable goal indeed. However, one wonders why the Union's fight against discrimination should be limited to increasing opportunities for only one group. Why doesn't this Union enlarge its aim to fighting discrimination against working women who belong to any minority group?

Another aim, which seeks "Lower taxes on the people," raises a number of questions in this commentator's mind. First, in order to fulfil the other aims, such as health protection, more homes for working people at low rents and day care centers for children of working women, more not less taxes would probably be needed.

Instead of a vague statement demanding "lower taxes on the people," one wonders why this union doesn't strive for something specific like tax exemption for expenses incurred by working women for care of their homes and children during their working hours away from home.

Integration of Puerto Ricans into the New York Community

A supervisor of the instruction of foreignlanguage-speaking pupils in New York City explains how the New York City School System meets the challenge of the influx of Puerto Ricans. (Finocchiaro, Mary: "Our Schools Meet the Challenge of a New Migration" High Points, March, 1953.)

She points out first that they are citizens of the United States who have come from a mild climate, where the pace is easy going, to a climate which goes from one extreme to the other and where the pace is highly competitive. The Puerto Ricans also have Spanish customs and traditions.

Miss Finocchiaro describes the outstanding contributions made by each Division of the Board of Education to helping the Puerto Ricans in New York. At elementary and secondary levels, special personnel are assigned, teaching materials provided and conferences arranged to promote the integration of the Puerto Ricans.

The Bureau of Educational Research is having English tests translated into Spanish to test native ability.

The Division of Speech Improvement has analyzed the problems of Puerto Rican Speech and made constructive suggestions for the improvement of speech and intonation patterns.

The Division of Community Education has set up classes for adults to help Puerto Ricans learn the facts essential for living in a new urban community. Among these are nutrition, health, and employment opportunities.

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Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

Europe in Our Time: 1914 to the Present. Revised Edition. By Robert Ergang. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1953. Pp. 576. \$6.00.

In this revised edition of a work which first appeared in 1948 Professor Ergang has presented a remarkably clear and readable survey of the tempestuous and crowded years since 1914. Much new material has been added in this edition to bring the book up-to-date and to give an accurate picture of the Europe of today. Fifteen chapters out of thirty-one in this text are concerned with the period from World War II to 1953. As the author himself states, it is his hope that "he will contribute in some little way toward giving the present generation a better understanding of recent events and contemporary problems."

This work is a well-balanced and sane presentation supplied with thirty useful maps and twenty-four illustrations. The author has skillfully brought together much diversified material covering many different countries, and his organization of subject matter is commendable. Particularly valuable is the extensive bibliography which has critical comments on nearly all the items listed. The physical format of the book and its beautifully printed pages will attract both students and the general reader. Calm and objective in tone and admirably comprehensive in scope, this volume should have many adoptions.

BERNARD C. WEBER

University of Alabama University, Alabama

The Big Change (America Transforms Itself.)
By Frederick Lewis Allen. New York:
Harper and Brothers, 1952. Pp. 290. \$4.00.

No more apt title for a book could have been chosen than "The Big Change" with the subtitle, "America Transforms Itself, 1900-1950," the name which Frederick L. Allen has given to his latest book, It is a clear and interesting

description of the great changes that have occurred in American life since the "horse and buggy days" in 1900 all the way down to the Korean War of today. It is not, however, a mere narrative of the great events of the past half century but rather a critical appraisal of them and their far reaching effects on life in America in all its manifold phases whether in the home, factory, or business life in general.

What Allen has been able to do most successfully is to put life and interest into otherwise dry and uninteresting statistics, as for example, when he compares conditions in the average American home at the turn of the century with those of today. And it is here that we come to one of the great characteristics of the book, its boundless optimism. He believes, and forces the reader to do as well, that despite the heavy taxation and the threat of a third World War we are far better off in almost every respect than our ancestors of two generations ago and that the national standard of living has vastly improved for all classes of society.

"The Big Change" refutes absolutely the twin theories of Karl Marx that the result of the impact of the industrial revolution on a nation would be that the rich would become richer, the poor, poorer, and this in turn would lead to the "inevitable conflict" between capital and labor ending in the utter defeat of the capitalist class and the introduction of socialism. That such events were but a matter of time was one of the fears of the propertied classes in the early part of the present century. Allen proves conclusively that nothing like this happened, for as a result of the assembly line and mass production in industry, the luxuries of the rich in the past have become the commonplaces of the middle and even poorer classes of to-day. And, as for the rich, they have become proportionally poorer because of the exactions of the income tax, and no one at this time can have an income such as that 6

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of Andrew Carnegie which was twenty thousand times that of a steel worker and upon which he paid not one cent of income tax! And in his time there were several hundred millionaires in a similar position. Today, as is pointed out in "The Big Change," there are no such great abysses between the incomes of the rich and poor as in the past, and we are becoming a classless society. This is not because we have been painlessly eased into socialism but rather because we have by-passed it! The government has not taken over our great industries and corporations as was feared but has hedged them about with all sorts of laws and regulations which has greatly decreased their power as compared to years ago. Allen compares the government to a referee at a football game, constantly blowing his whistle shrilly and then rushing into the struggle between the contending teams, capital and labor, and heavily penalizing one or the other!

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that dealing with the revolutionary effects of the automobile on all phases of American society, transforming and unifying the nation. In order to illustrate this he relates two amusing incidents. "Two women in Muncie. Indiana, both of whom were managing on small incomes, spoke their minds to investigators gathering facts for a sociological study of an American community, Said one, who was the mother of nine children, 'We'd rather do without clothes than give up the car.' Said the other, 'I'll go without food before I'll give up the car.' And elsewhere another housewife, in answer to a comment that her family owned a car but no bathtub, replied, 'Why, you can't go to town in a bathtub!'

Despite the nostalgic longings of the older generation for the happy days of the "elegant eighties" and the "gay nineties" Allen has proved beyond question in his unique book, The Big Change, that we are living in a far better world than our grandparents at the turn of the century.

JOSEPH M. GOTTSCHALK

Frankford High School Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Wellsprings of Democracy. By John M. Brewer. New York: Philosophical Library. Hallmark-Hubner Press, Inc., 1952. Pp. xii, 232. \$4.50. "There exists a large gap between the bare bones of parliamentary law on the one hand and official government on the other." (*Preface* v.)

This is one of the author's observations in what is essentially a handbook on parliamentary procedure. It is another way of saying that theory and practice have a way of being different. An entire chapter, the thirteenth, is devoted to this philosophical aspect. The author, however, appears to employ the term, "metaphysical." In the field of ethics we recognize that a man knows better than he does.

A study of parliamentary law does not necessarily bring about democracy, thinks Dr. Brewer. Democracy is learned through the processes of democratic living. And it must be learned in the various categories—in home, in school, in church, in lodge, in union, in government, etc. Democracy, in order to succeed, must be "worked at." It is not to be achieved all at once.

Neither is democratic government easy. Dictatorships—autocracies—make use of short-cuts. A democratic movement must have time for growth and development. Persuasion must have its part.

Those who over-emphasize the role of the individual are likely to forget that all inventions have a way of being the outcome of the previous inventions of others. So with the automobile and the airplane, and, of course television and radar. One of the first steps in the invention of the sewing-machine was taken when some Paleolithic man—or woman—thrust a sharp piece of bone through a piece of leather. This, by an evolutionary process, became the awl, and later, the sewing-machine.

The author does not elaborate on the subject, but he makes it clear that the individual, in order to think and act democratically, must realize his indebtedness to the group.

The book is interesting and helpful, making a supplement to Robert's Rules of Order.

There is an appendix, as well as an index.

J. F. SANTEE

Oregon College of Education Monmouth, Oregon

Crime in Modern Society. By Mabel A. Elliott. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. Pp. xvi, 874. \$6.00.

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This comprehensive textbook for what is becoming one of the most popular undergraduate courses in sociology reflects the author's unusually rich background, for she is not only a capable teacher and the writer of a highly successful textbook, but a scholarly social researcher and one-time member of an official state board concerned with practical problems involved in the control of crime and delinquency.

This work commends itself to the teacher and the general reader because of its comprehensiveness of scope, concerned as it is with all phases of the problem of adult criminality, and for the considerable amount of original research included. This research, and the apportionment of space in the book, mirrors the author's interest in the criminal as a person and a human being, (particularly the woman offender) rather than in crime in the abstract.

It is simply and lucidly written, in style at times almost too colloquial. (The author should realize that "ventilate" can be too easily overused as a synonym for "discuss"). In consonance with the recent trend in textbooks in criminology, the emphasis is placed upon adult crime and on penology. The limited space now being devoted to causation reflects not an underestimation of the importance of this problem, but rather the lack of verified and reliable knowledge.

The author feels that the subject of juvenile delinquency might better be left for treatment in a separate course and treatise, and introduces this topic only indirectly in connection with crime prevention. This implies, of course, that it could have been dealt with even more appropriately in the consideration of the causation of crime. Amazingly, in the light of its impact upon adult criminal procedure, the juvenile court is not mentioned even once in the entire text, and is not listed in the index.

As compared with other recent texts in the field, Dr. Elliott's approach is more concrete and descriptive, less theoretical and abstract than that of Taft. In her evaluation of contemporary penological practices she tends to be more calm and objective, less hysterical, but not less critical, than Barnes and Teeters.

Undoubtedly this scholarly, well organized, comprehensive work, rich in concrete, descriptive materials, is destined to become one of the

most widely used texts in this popular field.

JERRY A. NEPRASH

Franklin and Marshall College Lancaster, Pennsylvania

The Keystone State. Geography, History and Government. By Arthur D. Graeff. Philadelphia, Pa.: John C. Winston Company, 1953. Pp. xxiv, 380. \$3.60.

Bulletin No. 410, issued by the Pennsylvania State Department of Education, outlined the content of a year's study of Pennsylvania geography, history and civics. The course is fixed at the ninth year level. Dr. Graeff's textbook The Keystone State is designed to meet the requirements of the new course.

The easiest approach to the organization of materials for a textbook such as this would be to divide it into three sections, each captioned by the major areas of study. A more difficult task was undertaken by the author. The geography, history and government are neatly correlated and integrated to provide interesting, almost enchanting reading. The primary elements of geography are treated under a chapter headed "As the Indians knew Penn's Woods." The natural resources of the colony and commonwealth open the history of industrial development and progress. The boundaries of the commonwealth are taught through the story of inter-colonial relations.

The history of the Keystone State is told simply and chronologically. There is an abundance of material dealing with the cultural heritage of William Penn's sons and daughters of today. Throughout the text there is subtle or direct challenge to the reader to emulate the great and near-great and to preserve the better elements of our wealth and institutions. History becomes functional at every turn as the story is woven by the author, who, incidentally is a past-master in this field.

There are several chapters which are devoted entirely to the framework of state and local governments. The student is placed in the middle of the story as it unfolds and there is a never-present reminder of obligation on the part of the Junior citizen.

The timeliness of the book adds to its freshness. There is a very practical analysis of "Earning a Living in Pennsylvania" and an

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LIVING IN OUR AMERICA

History of our country for the upper grades

by

and

Edward Krug

LIVING IN OUR COMMUNITIES

Civics for young citizens

I. James Quillen

CITIZENS NOW

Short course in civics for young citizens

by

MAN'S STORY

World history for high-school level

T. Walter Wallbank

Write for free examination materials

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Dallas 2

San Francisco 5

New York 10

examination of the new elements found in modern communities and community life.

The exercises at the end of each chapter are classified according to the degree of difficulty. The references are relatively few but obviously selective. The illustrations are greatly varied in type, such as cartoons, wood-cuts, graphs, diagrams, colored maps with subject matter keyed to them and carefully chosen photographs. Each illustration carries with it a challenging legend.

The appendix contains the present constitution of the commonwealth, a complete census of every village and city with data about the governors, the county seats, and a check of the index reveals that every one of the 67 counties is dealt with in the text.

DAVID W. HARR

Lincoln High School Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley. By Edwin W. Smith. New York: Library Publishers, 1952. Pp. xiii, 456. \$5.50. Daniel Lindley was a Presbyterian minister who became known for his missionary work in Natal, South Africa throughout forty years of the mid-nineteenth century. Edwin W. Smith, the author of this biography, is a minister himself, an Englishman born in South Africa, and the author of several books about South Africa.

This biography will interest readers of American history in several ways. The first two chapters shed interesting lights on pioneering conditions in Western Pennsylvania from which Daniel Lindley came. This background along with his early life in Virginia and North Carolina fitted Lindley well for his career in South Africa.

The South African story shows how another pioneering people, admittedly in a different environment, dealt with their native population. Different methods led to different results.

For us the native problem is no longer serious. In South Africa, it has become more menacing than ever as far as the local Whites are concerned. Current events' teachers will

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find this aspect of the story interesting as background for the study of race relations at home and abroad.

Finally, the story sheds light on the ever recurring problem of the religious missionary of whether to adapt Christianity to the local environment, or whether to impose not only Christianity but also Western civilization on the native population.

South Africa is not well known to most Americans, but for the reasons given, this book is well worth reading.

WILFRED T. GRENFELL

St. James School

St. James, Maryland

Soviet Civilization, By Corliss Lamont. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. x, 433, \$5.00.

In his introductory remarks the author tries to convince his readers that he is steering a middle course in his evaluations of Soviet Russia. Believing that the main aspects of Soviet civilization have been grossly misrepresented in the outside world.—not much is said about the vituperations of the Soviet press,he hopes to correct some of the misconceptions concerning its nature and goals. After stating that Soviet Russia is "neither a heaven nor a hell" (p. 25), he finds that it is not such a bad place after all. It is not a perfect place, he admits, but at least it can point to many noteworthy achievements. In fact, he concludes that, after taking all of the cultural and historical factors into account, "the Soviet good greatly outweighs the bad." (p. 414)

It is mainly "the Soviet good" that he stresses at great length. Instead of according equal treatment to the negative features of Soviet civilization, such as the forced labor camps and the endless purges, he gives a rather sympathetic account of the basic domestic and foreign policies of the U.S.S.R. No matter what aspect of Soviet civilization he considers, he sees much to commend and little to condemn. Thus he discovers a great deal of good in the Stalinist Constitution of 1936, the treatment of minorities, and the fundamental social and economic changes that have taken place. He observes that the Soviet attitude toward religion approaches a kind of "Socialist human-

ism." (p. 154). A one-party system, he maintains, is not necessarily undemocratic. He regards every unfavorable comparison of Soviet socialism with fascism as totally unfair, since their ultimate goals are so unlike. In view of the recent anti-Semitic tendencies of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites,—something more than anti-Zionism,—one wonders whether the difference is so great after all. Only rarely does the author find fault with the regime.

The last few chapters constitute a warm but unconvincing defense of Soviet foreign policy. Not only has the Soviet Union, at one time or another, favored universal disarmament, collective security, and self-determination of peoples, the author argues that "it wants peace above all else in international relations." (p. 282). As a socialist state,—but certainly not the kind that most western socialists desire!it looks forward to the internal decay of world capitalism, and hence it need not resort to aggression. The real disturbers of the peace have been the interventionist powers, led by the fascists, who have repeatedly diverted the Communists from concentrating their full efforts into the building of socialism. What the author does not emphasize sufficiently, however, is that Soviet policies in favor of collective security and disarmament have been dictated largely by the factors of expediency, necessity, and national self-interest.

The reader will be astonished to hear that the Soviet Union has not, with the exception of Finland, engaged in any aggression in Eastern Europe. The Communist seizure of Czechoslovakia was, after all, a purely domestic affair! And as far as Korea is concerned, the aggression was committed by the North Koreans, although "it is regrettable that the Soviet Union did not use its influence at the outset to dissuade the North Koreans from their mad venture." (p. 406). In the author's opinion, the aggressive policies of the Truman administration, encouraged by the warmongering speeches and articles in the American press, are largely responsible for the postwar tensions. While admitting that "there have been numerous instances in which the U.S.S.R. has been plainly in the wrong," he fails to elaborate on them. Instead, he returns again and again to the theme that the Soviet Union wants peace.

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PHILADELPHIA 30, PA.

It is obvious that Mr. Lamont leans backward to give a favorable picture of the U.S.S.R. Since he fails to describe the harsher features and shortcomings of the totalitarian regime, his book cannot be considered an objective study of Soviet civilization. On one thing most readers will agree with him,—namely that coexistence is preferable to co-destruction.

RICHARD H. BAUER

University of Maryland College Park, Maryland

The Suez Canal in World Affairs. By Hugh J. Schoufield. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. xvi, 174. \$4.50.

A book that sets out to bring up to date the history of one of the oldest engineering enterprises of civilized man. The reader will find that this book traces the progress of how ancient Egypt, Persia and Rome succeeded in linking the Red Sea with the Mediterranean Sea and how this canal has caused a vexing and persistent international problem.

HELPFUL CLASSROOM AIDS GENERAL

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 318 Fourth Ave., New York 16, New York, has prepared two excellent pamphlets on Intergroup Education, 1. Teachers and the Community, 2. Group processes in Intergroup Education, Price 25 cents each,

Science Research Associates, Incorporated, 57 W. Grand Ave., Chicago, Illinois, has recently published the following pamphlets that will prove very helpful in Problems Courses. 1. When Children Face Crises. By George J. Mohr. 2. Helping the Gifted Child. By Paul Witty. 3. You and the Draft. By William S. Vincent and James E. Russell. 4. Our World of Work. By Seymour L. Wolfbein and Harold Goldstein. 5. Your Safety Handbook. By Ned H. Dearborn and William Andrews. 6. Exploring the World of Jobs. By Donald E. Kitch. Price 40 cents each.

Teachers of Government will find the Pamphlet "Shrines of the Republic" of valuable service in teaching this subject. This pamphlet contains hundreds of informative, entertaining

questions and answers concerning the Presidents, the White House, Congress and the Capitol, the Supreme Court, Federal Agencies, Art Treasures, and Monuments. Public Affairs Press, Washington 8, D. C. Price \$1.00.

ARTICLES

"Social Studies in the Curriculum," by William B. Fink and Millicent Haines, Social Education, Volume XVI, Number 7, November, 1952.

"Why Immigration is in Politics," U. S. News and World Report, October 31, 1952.

"The Textbook in America," Saturday Review, April 19, 1952.

"Yugoslavia: Laboratory in the Balkans," United Nations World, August, 1952.

"The McCarran Act," by Louise Levitas. This Week, December 14, 1952. (This article omitted from some editions.)

"Many Troubles Beset France," Newsweek, December 22, 1952.

PAMPHLETS

"Small Business, Its Role and Its Problems."
Prepared by the Chamber of Commerce of
the United States, Washington 6, D. C. Price
50 cents.

"Nicknames of American Cities," by Gerard L. Alexander, Special Libraries Association, 31 East Tenth Street, New York 3, New York.

"The American Electoral College," by Roger Lee MacBride. The Caxton Printers Limited, Caldwell, Idaho, Price 75 cents;

"Collective Security," by Andrew Martin. United Nations, 19 Avenue Kleber, Paris. France, Price \$1.25.

"The Teacher of the Social Studies," by Jack Allen, Editor, Twenty-third Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, 1952. National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

"United Nations at Work Series." Number 3— World Social Situation Today. Number 2— The Record and Responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council. Number 1— Human Rights in the United Nations. Price 15 cents each. United Nations, Department of Public Information, New York, New York.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

This Government of Ours: National, State and Local. By Jack Allen and Fremont P. Wirth. New York: American Book Company, 1953. Pp. xxv, 600. \$3.48.

This text gives more than usual significance to the study of government by relating it to other subjects in the curriculum.

Parliamentary Government in the Commonwealth, Edited by Sydney D. Bailey. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. 217. \$4.50.

A book that explains the British parliamentary tradition.

Basic American Documents. Edited by Huszar Littlefield. Paterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1953. Pp. 365. \$1.50. A convenient and inexpensive supplement to the prescribed textbook.

The United States. By David Saville Muzzey and Horace Kidger. New York: Ginn and Company, 1953. Pp. xxi, 667. \$3.00.

Outstanding in all respects, Pictures, Maps and graphs are excellent,

Can Asia Survive? By F. B. Czarnomske, New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. xii, 128. \$2.75.

Modern Asia Explained. By W. R. McAuliffe. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. v, 163. \$3.25.

American Beginnings: Highlights and Sidelights of the Birth of the New World, By Jarvis M. Morse. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1952. Pp. xii, 260, \$3.75.

The American City. By Stuart Alfred Queen and David Baily Carpenter. New York: Mc-Graw-Hill Book Company, 1953. Pp. xxiii, 383, \$5.50.

Strikes: A Study in Industrial Conflict. By K. G. J. C. Knowles. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. v, 330. \$8.75.

Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change. By H. G. Barnett, New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953. Pp. xiv, 462. \$6.50.

Henry Comte De Saint-Simon. (1760-1825). Edited and Translated by F. M. H. Markham. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. 116. \$2.00. 0.6

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